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# JOURNAL

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### GANGANATHA JHA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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[ Part 2

#### ON THE CHRONOLOGICAL POSITION OF KHARAVELA

By N. N. GHOSH

KING Khāravela of Kalinga is an important and by now a familiar historical personage. A great deal of work has been done on the Hāthīgumphā inscription in the Udayagiri hills near Bhūbaneśvara in the Puri District. The inscription records from year to year Khāravela's career. A lot of controversy has raged round his date, and the object of this paper is to discuss this problem.

Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji for the first time gave, in 1883,<sup>1</sup> a full transcription with notes and translations which marked a vast improvement on earlier attempts begun in 1825 and continued to 1880.<sup>2</sup> Indraji finds in line 16 mention of an era, *Muriya Kāla*, from which he deduces the date of Khāravela. He finds the relevant passages in lines 16—17 and reads them as one sentence beginning with *veḍariya gabhe patithūpayati panānta-*

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists*, Leyden, 1833.

<sup>2</sup> Sterling, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, 1825. Major Kittoe's facsimile read and published by Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, 1837, Cunningham, C. I. I. Vol. I Old series, 1977; Rajendra Lal Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, 1880.



*riya saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja muriya kāle vochine ca coyāṭhi  
aga satikutariyam cupādyati khemarāja sa vadharā-  
ja sa bhikurāja etc.* in line 16, and ending with *mahāvi-  
jayo rāja khāravela siri* (the last word of the last line  
i.e. line 17 of the inscription), who is identified by him  
with Bhikurāja of previous line. Both the reading and  
the syntax are doubtful as will be shown later. But he  
made his own meaning clear by his translation which  
runs as follows :—

“ The victorious and illustrious king Khāravela  
(named) the Bhikshurāja (son) of Vridhharāja (who was  
the son) of Kshemarāja and clever in various qualities,  
etc. . . . . born in the family of royal sages,  
does this (referring to the architectural constructions in  
the cave) in the one hundred sixty fifth year of the Maurya  
kings, after one hundred and sixty four years had passed  
(*choyāṭhi aga satikutariyam*).” On the basis of his  
reading, syntax and translations he draws up both a  
genealogy and a chronology of King Khāravela. I am not  
concerned here with his genealogy which I consider wrong  
because of his taking Vṛddharāja and Bhikṣurāja in  
the genitive case, but with the chronology he has given.  
He reads the relevant passages *panāmtariya saṭhivasa-  
sate*, made clear by this interpretation of the word ‘voc-  
hine’ as ‘Vicchinne’ (expired or ended) which precedes  
the words which he reads as *coyāṭhi aga satikutariyam*.  
According to this reading, he finds a so-called Maurya era  
which he takes to begin in the eighth year of Aśoka’s  
reign which, again he thinks, starts about 263 B.C. On  
the basis of his reading of the passage quoted above and  
his assumptions regarding the date of Aśoka’s accession,  
when, according to him, the Maurya era begins, he draws  
up the chronology as follows : (263—8)=c. 255 B.C. be-  
ing the initial year of the era, (255—165)=c. 90 B.C.  
is the date of his architectural constructions in the cave,



and these having been done in the 13th year of his (Khāra-vela's) reign, his accession took place in  $(90 + 13) = c. 103$  B.C., his yauvarājya nine years before in 112 B.C. and his birth 24 years before his accession in 127 B.C. Indrajī himself is in doubt as to the existence of a Maurya era which he says 'has not been found anywhere' (Ibid. 149). But he worked out his chronology on this doubtful basis. Both Fleet<sup>3</sup> and Luders<sup>4</sup> denied the existence of a date in line 16 of the inscription. Dr. Jayaswal who earlier (JBORS 1917) accepted the existence of the era '165 Maurya Kāla' in line 16 finally gave it up (JBORS 1927) but found other evidences to put Khāra-vela in the first quarter of the second century B.C., taking him to be a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. He identifies Bahaspatimita or Bṛhaspatimitra mentioned in the Hāthi-gumphā inscription whom Khāra-vela defeated in the twelfth year of his reign on the ground that Bṛhaspati is mentioned in the *Sāṅkhāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra* (1.12.6) as the presiding deity of the Puṣya constellation of stars (JBORS Vol III, 1917). The argument is of doubtful validity and is not at all convincing.<sup>5</sup> He further argues that a king of this very name figures in the Pabhosā inscription and on a coin found in Kosam. Bahaspatimita of the Pabhosā inscription was probably a local king of Kauśāmbī, whose maternal uncle Asāḍhasena excavated the cave in the reign of 'Udaka' whom Jayaswal himself restored Odraka, the fifth Śuṅga king. How can this Bahaspatimita then be the same person as the first Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra? He seeks to explain the coin name Bahaspatimita for Puṣyamitra by the fact that some other Śuṅga and later Śuṅga kings appear in different names on

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S., 1910.

<sup>4</sup> Luders' List in E.I. Vol. X, (Appendix).

<sup>5</sup> R. B. Chanda, I.H.Q. 1929, p. 595 f; Raychaudhuri, P.H.A.I., 3rd Ed., p. 255.



their coins. He says that the Purāṇic names, Vasumitra, Vasujyeṣṭha, Ghoṣavasū, Vajramitra, Devabhūti appear as Bhānumitra, Jeṭhamitra, Bhadrageṣṭha, Indramitra, Devamitra on the coins respectively. But the question arises: are the identifications beyond any dispute? They were probably rulers of local dynasties—new-Mitra or later Śuṅga kings ruling in Ayodhyā and Bareilly Districts, where a large number of these coins have been found, after the break up of the Śuṅga empire. Dr. V. Smith places them on the ground of scripts between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, unlike them, Puṣaymitra Śuṅga appears in the inscriptions in his Purāṇic name. It is unusual that he should have chosen a different name for his coin found in Kosam.

Dr. V. Smith<sup>7</sup> and Prof. Dubreuil<sup>8</sup> accepted the date worked out by Indrajī and Jayaswal and placed Khāravēla in the second century B.C. Prof. Rapson also did the same, though in a non-committal way. He writes: "The inscription *probably* belongs to about the second century B.C."<sup>9</sup> As we have seen, Dr. Jayaswal himself subsequently gave up Indrajī's reading of the passages in question in line 16 on which he had based his earlier theory. The passages as finally edited<sup>10</sup> now are: *catāre ca veduriya-gabhe thāmbhe pātīthāpayati pānātariya-sata-sahasehi (stop) mu(khi)yakala—vochimam ca coya(thi)-aṅga saṁtika-(m) turīyam upādayati (stop)*. The remaining words of line 16, *Khemarājā sa Vadhārājā sa Bhikkhūrājā Dhamarājā*, etc., form part of the next sentence ending with *rājā Khāravēla siri* in line 17. As you will notice this new reading and syntax are completely

<sup>6</sup> *Coins of the Indian Museum*, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> *J.R.A.S.*, 1918.

<sup>8</sup> *A.H.D.*, 1920.

<sup>9</sup> *Camb. Hist. of India I*, p. 535.

<sup>10</sup> Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 210.



different from Indraji's. The splitting up of the sentences and reading of *satasahasehi* for *saṭhivasasate*, *mukhiya* for *Muriya*, *Kala* for *Kāle*, *aṅga* for *aga*, *santikam-turiyam* for *satikutariyam* are the keystones of this revised reading. The phrase *pānatariya satasahasehi*, as the syntax shows, with which the first sentence in line 16 ends, refers to the cost of five lakhs of coins incurred for the decoration of the cave with ornamented pillars *veḍuriya gabhe thambhe*. This gives a better sense. Khāravēla was particular about stating the amount of money he spent on various occasions. For instance, in line 3, he states to have spent 35 lakhs to restore the works of the city damaged by storm in the first year of his reign. He mentions to have spent in the ninth year of his reign 38 lakhs to build the great Victory Palace *mahāvijaya-pasāda* (L.10). Consequently, *pānatariya satasahasehi* appears to be the only reasonable reading. The sentence, which immediately follows it, speaks of his patronage to arts befitting peacetimes, including principal ones (*mukhiya kāla vochinam*) which Dr. Sircar rightly interprets as *gīta nṛtyādi samanvitam*. There is no reference to any date, of a *muriya kāla*, 165 years or 164 years expired, counted backward from the 13th year of Khāravēla's reign. Thus there is no data to place Khāravēla in the second century B.C. which some historians including Professor Rapson did.

## II

On the other hand, certain palaeographical, monumental and internal evidences found in the epigraph point to the last quarter of the first century B.C. as the date of the author of the inscription. A *Śātakarṇi* appears in the *Hāthīgumphā* inscription whom Khāravēla defeated in the second year of his reign. A *Śātakarṇi* also appears in the *Nānāghāt* inscription of his wife *Nāyanikā*." Prof.



Rapson, while discussing the date of Khāravēla, refers to Bühler's *Indian palaeography*, p. 39, in which the latter takes both the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāyanikā and the inscription of Khāravēla to belong to the same chronological group and places them in the middle of the second century B.C.<sup>12</sup> This was in 1904 when the date of Khāravēla discovered by Indrajī held the field. He refers to Indrajī's paper on Khāravēla and writes : "Khāravēla's inscription must have been inscribed between B.C. 157 and 147 as the king's 13th year is said to correspond to the year 165 of the Maurya"<sup>13</sup> (Italics mine). This shows his mind was not completely free from this influence. Later scholars like Prof. Chanda, however, place the Nānāghāṭ records on the grounds of palaeography much later.<sup>14</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar assigns them, on the same ground to the latter half of the first century B.C.<sup>15</sup> The well known scholars on architecture, Messrs. Fergusson and Burgess, in their great work on the *Cave Temples of India*, assigned the Nāsik *Caitya Hall* to the latter half of the first century B.C. Modern art critics agree to this date.<sup>16</sup> Now, according to Sir John Marshall, a small *vihāra*, excavated during the time of the second Andhra king Kṛṣṇa is 'of the same age' as the Nāsik *Caitya Hall*. So if Kṛṣṇa flourished in the latter half of the first century B.C., the date of his nephew Śātakarṇī who succeeded him and the date of Śātakarṇī's wife's Nānāghāṭ inscription, cannot be placed earlier than the close of the second half of the beginning of the last quarter of the first cen-

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<sup>12</sup> *Ind. Ant.* XIII. 1904, Appendix.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *M.A.S.I.* No I.

<sup>15</sup> *Select Inscriptions* I, p. 113, n.

<sup>16</sup> *Camb. His. Ind.* I, p. 636 f.



tury B.C. So, Khāravēla does not need to be placed in the second century B.C. for reasons of identification of Śātakarṇī I as his contemporary, as earlier scholars like Bühler and others did.

A Śrī Śātakarṇī also appears in the inscription on the Sāñcī *torāṇa*, as its donor. He is to be identified with the third Andhrā king Śātakarṇī I. This identification involves no chronological impossibilities. The region of Vidiśā in which Sāñcī falls was in possession of the Śuṅga dynasty up to at least its ninth king Bhāgabhadra, as the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Heliodoras proves. Bhāgabhadra's reign, according to the Purāṇas, ended in c. 82 B.C. Eastern Malwa including Vidiśā probably fell to the Andhras about the same time as its northern portion when the Śuṅga power broke up. According to the Purāṇic chronology the Śuṅga dynasty ended about 72 B.C.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, I agree with Dr. Raychaudhuri when he places Simuka in the Kāṇva period and makes him a contemporary with the Kāṇva king Suśarman (c. 38—28 B.C.).<sup>18</sup> The recognition of Simuka dynasty as an imperial power by the Purāṇas, of course, begins in 27 B.C., the interval of 45 years being assigned to the Kāṇvas. The Purāṇas assign to Simuka's brother 10 years of reign. Assuming B.C. 28 or 27 as the last year of Simuka's reign, Śātakarṇī I came to the throne about 17 B.C. and this not only satisfies the Purāṇic chronological order as shown above, but also the reasons of palaeography, for it has been pointed by R.B. Chanda, as against Bühler's views, that the inscription of Nāyanikā is later than the Besnagar inscription.<sup>19</sup> So Khāravēla who was a contemporary of Śātakarṇī I and who appears in the Nānāghāṭ

<sup>17</sup> Taking B. C. 184 as the year of Puṣyamitra's accession and the total reign-period of the ten Śuṅga kings as 112 years, as stated in the Purāṇas.

<sup>18</sup> *P.H.I. Ed.* 3rd., p. 277.

<sup>19</sup> *M.S.A.I.I.* pp. 14—15.



and Sāncī inscriptions, both of the first century B.C. naturally belongs to the same period, and not to the second century B.C.

A more positive data for Khāravela's chronology is found in line 6 of the Hāthīgumphā inscription. It states. *Pañcame ca dānīvase Nandarāja tivasa-sāta oghātītīm tanasuliya vātā pañāḍīm nagaram pavesayati*. Khāravela extended up to the city through Tanasulia road the aqueduct which had been opened by King Nanda three hundred years ago. *Ti vasa sāta* which was earlier translated as 103 years by Indrajī and Jayaswal, is now taken to mean 300 years. Even Dr. Jayaswal accepts it, but identifies Nandarāja with Nandivardhana. But how can Nandivardhana be taken as King Nanda? The Purāṇas call him Nandivardhana and not Nandavardhana. In the latter case, there might have been some justification to identify him with the Nandarājā of the inscription. Moreover, according to the Purāṇas, he is a Śaiśunāga king and the first Nanda king is Mahāpadma Nanda. The Purāṇas do not speak very enthusiastically of the Nanda kings, because the last Śaiśunāga king Mahānandin became the founder of this dynasty through his marriage with a Śūdra woman. Mahāpadmananda is called *śūdragarbhodbhava* but yields him uncommon praise for his prowess as the destroyer of many Kṣatriya races, and being the sole monarch (*ekarāt*). Among the dynasties whose chronologies are given in the Purāṇas in the interval between the last Śaiśunāga king and the first Nanda king of Magadha are also the Kālīngas. It is probable that Mahāpadmananda defeated the Kālīngas of the South-Eastern India along with the Haihayas, Āśmakas, Vitihotras, Mithilas, Kurus, Pañcālas, Sūrasenas, Kāśīs and Ikṣvākūs of Central and Northern India, to be justifiably called by the Purāṇas *ekarāt* and *sarva kṣātrāṇaka*. So there is more reason to identify the Nanda-



rāja of the inscription with Mahāpadmananda rather than with Nandivardhana. Jayaswal probably did it in order to bring the date of Khāravēla to the 2nd century B.C., so as to maintain him as a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. So if Mahāpadmananda is the king who is to be calculated 300 years backward to the fifth year of Khāravēla's reign, we get a key to the date of Khāravēla as well as to his inscription.

The Purānas differ as to the length of the reign-period of Mahāpadma. But there is no difference as to the total reign period of his eight successors who ruled (probably jointly) for 12 years. Taking this period of 12 years into account and accepting 322 B.C. as the year of Candragupta Maurya's accession which is more or less a fixed point of chronology, we may work backward to find the last date of Mahāpadmananda which comes to (322 plus 12) 334 B.C. Therefore, the extension of the canal could not at any rate have taken place after 334 B.C. The mention of a round figure of 300 years is a conventional form of expression and may not be taken too literally. Other round figures like 10, 20 or 25 may be permitted to add to it in order to find synchronisms. And this synchronism is the identity of Khāravēla with Śātakarṇi I, the third king of the Śātavāhanakula. We may therefore take 334 B.C. as the starting point for our purpose.

If, say, 20 years are added to 300, the date of extension of the canal took place in c. (334—320) 14 B.C. and his accession 5 years before in 19 B.C. In line 2 of the epigraph we find details of his early life from which we gather that he became heir-apparent at the age of 16 and king at the age of 24. He was therefore 29 years old when he was king for 5 years at the time of the extension of the aqueduct in 14 B.C. We may thus draw up a tentative chronology of Khāravēla as follows :

F. 2



Birth 29 plus 14	c. 43 B.C.
Yauvarājya 43—16	c. 27 B.C.
Accession 43—24	c. 19 B.C.

The epigraph gives details of his reign from year to year up to the 13th year. The inscription was therefore engraved in the 13th or 14th year of his reign and this brings the date of the inscription to c. (19—14) 5 B.C. This tentative chronology agrees with the Purāṇic data and satisfies other synchronisms, the most important of which is that of the date of Khāravela's fight with Śāta-karṇi I, which, according to the epigraph took place in the 2nd year of Khāravela's reign, i.e. 17 B.C. a date which, as has been shown above, falls with the reign of the third Andhra king.



## SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY ACCORDING TO SUREŚWARA

By VEERAMANI PRASAD UPADHYĀYA

(Continued from Vol. VI. Part I.)

There are three important and prominent theories, namely, Ābhāsa-Vāda, Pratibimba-Vāda, and Avaccheda-Vāda, expounded by different interpreters of the Advaita philosophy in the Post-Śaṅkara period. Of these, the theory of Ābhāsa, enunciated and developed by Sureśvara, is the earliest. The second theory of Reflection (Pratibimba) is undoubtedly in its earliest form simultaneous with the first one (as already adumbrated by Padmapādācārya in his work, namely *Pañca-Pādikā*), but in its more developed form, as presented by Prakāśātman—the author of the well-known work *Pañcapādikā—Vivaraṇa*—it is decidedly much later than the first one. The third ‘Theory of Delimitation’ (Avaccheda), attributed to Vācaspati Miśra I. is still later, although this may be traced back to the ‘*Brahmasiddhi*’ of Maṇḍana, who enunciated almost all the basic tenets or fundamental principles of the said theory and from whom are really inherited all the distinctive features of what is known as the *Vācaspati-prasthāna* or the Avaccheda-Vāda in the Post-Śaṅkara literature.

Both Padmapādācārya and Vācaspati regard reflection (*Pratibimba*) as identical with the prototype, only having certain attributes such as ‘facing oneself,’ ‘appearing as located on the mirror’ etc., superimposed thereon in the instance of a reflected face. Looked at superficially, the doctrines of Pratibimba and Ābhāsa



would appear to have much in common, but to a critical student the basic or fundamental difference of the two concepts, which is mainly intended to be brought out in this thesis, cannot fail to assert itself even at the first glance.

Ābhāsa, as delineated by Sureśvara, is considered by him to be something inexplicable and unreal as such, while Pratibimba, as recognised by the Vivaraṇa school, is accepted to be real, being identical with its prototype. Ābhāsa is an appearance directly or indirectly of the one Reality through Avidyā and it is something altogether *de novo* and inexplicable. It is enlivened and propped up or sustained by any of the various Incidences or Appearances of the one Reality in correspondence with the 'diversely modifying Avidyā, constituting the material stuff of all empirical and seeming entities. The multifarious modifications of Avidyā serve as so many receptacles of the said Incidences or Appearances, elicited from the Reality or Pure Consciousness by Avidyā and these receptacles are given their being and manifestation as multiple entities of the empirical order by the said Appearances, underlying all of them as their very essence, life, power, force and what not, owing to which they are enabled to appear and figure as the real objects of the universe. Ābhāsa is an established fact and practically sufficient and empirically veritable, that is, capable of subserving all practical purposes and empirical needs and commending all pragmatic values from the stand-point of Avidyā (Tamo-Vṛtta) but it has no locus standi whatsoever absolutely, i.e. from that of Brahman or Reality proper (Vastu-Vṛtta). Brahman, the Pure Consciousness, is the only Reality and everything else—animate or inanimate—in the world is manifested on the strength and in the light of Its various Appearances or Incidences, answering to the manifold modifications of Avidyā.



The one and the same Reality, Brahman, appearing in and through Avidyā and its multiple modifications as so many various receptacles or adjuncts, gives rise to the diverse and discrete phenomena of the Universe and by virtue of Its so many underlying Appearances makes all of them appear to be existing, real and perceivable as something immediate. It is the central doctrine of the Advaita philosophy, as expounded by Sureśvara, that Brahman is the only Reality—unconditional and Apriori Immediacy—and all others appear real and immediate only as pervaded by the Appearance of Brahman in them. Thus all phenomena are incidentally due to and only outward appearances or seeming external expressions of one and the same Reality, Brahman.

The whole universe is the transformation and projection of Avidyā and illusory manifestation of the One Reality, Brahman. In other words, the universe is nothing but a vortex of diverse appearances of Brahman as appearing through the manifold modifications of Avidyā and the corresponding Appearances of Reality therein, but oneness is the essential nature of Reality Itself. When diversity is dissolved or sublated by Brahma-realisation, oneness the essential nature of Reality or Reality Itself—emerges as the sole Residue.

The primary and direct Appearance of Brahman is in Avidyā, which is one, beginningless and inadvertitiously present (अगदि स्वाभिदी) in Brahman. The Consciousness, conditioned by Avidyā, apparently identifies therewith on account of Its nondiscrimination from Its own Appearance therein (अविद्योपहित-तद्गतस्व भासाऽविविक्त-चित्) and is variously called the internal ruler, the witness and the cause of the world in relation to different functions attributable to It through Avidyā. The same Consciousness,

<sup>1</sup> B.B.V., p. 661, VV. 1138—41; p. 1024, V, 191; p. 1104; V. 425 and V. 427.



conditioned by one of the products of Avidyā, namely, mind (Buddhi) and apparently identified therewith owing to Its non-discrimination from Its own Appearance therein is called the individual soul—the agent, the enjoyer and the cogniser in relation to different functions of the psychophysical organism through Avidyā. On account of the difference of the mind in each body, the Appearances of Consciousness in various and different and hence, although there is an undeniable distinction between the Appearance of Consciousness in the mind and the consciousness conditioned thereby, yet by reason of the said non-discrimination from Its various Appearances, the same Consciousness appearing to be conditioned by different minds, comes to be cognised as if it were different. This leads to and establishes the plurality of Jīvas, according to Sureśvara's Ābhāsa-Vāda. Avidyā is undifferentiated and one and so is the Appearance of Consciousness therein; and hence the Consciousness, non-discriminated from the said Appearance and conditioned by its receptacle Avidyā, that is, Íśvara, the ultimate cause, the Inner Ruler and the witness—is regarded as one, admitting of no difference at all. In the same way, all other entities sentient or insentient come out as something empirically or illusorily existent and varitable as a result of Reality, the pure consciousness, appearing through the different modifications of Avidyā variously. Thus Íśvara, the Appearance of consciousness in Avidyā, in the primary sense of the word, or the Consciousness, conditioned by Avidyā as nondiscriminated from Its appearance therein, figuratively, is the cause of the outcome of the whole phenomenal world. There is no difficulty in understanding so far that the one Reality, Brahman, through the diversely modifying Avidyā appears variously as the multiple empirical entities.

But the question, that inevitably arises, is how does



Avidyā itself arise initially. According to Suresvara, Avidyā also is an appearance, but being inadvertently unintermittingly and unmediatedly present in and about Reality or Brahman Itself, it does not require any instrumentality or receptacle for itself. It is beginningless but 'Avicārīta-Samsiddha' that is, appears to be an established fact or veritable only so long as the Reality is not realised.<sup>2</sup> No question of beginning about Avidyā can be raised as Time etc.,—the universal causal factors for all producibles—are themselves the issues of Avidyā. Being "Avicārīta-Samsiddha," its end also is not questionable on the ground of its beginninglessness; because no actual end is needed to be accomplished of such an appearance and what is essential for its sublation is merely the realisation of Reality. For explaining an appearance, the Appearance of Reality unrealised as such is enough and no separate reality and real destruction of any destruction about the appearance itself are needed to be admitted at all.<sup>3</sup> When Avidyā is sublated by proper Realisation of Reality all appearances, arising through it, are also automatically sublated and once sublated thus, they cannot be resurrected any more.

Having for its abode and object, that is, characterising and supported by Brahman, the one and indivisible Reality, Avidyā also is one and indivisible. Although objectively and substantively one, Avidyā operates differently in individual cases. Not only it operates differently and individually, but it is sublated also individually.

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<sup>2</sup> B.B.V., p. 933, V. 279; p. 1103; VV, 420—21; p. 1105, V. 436; p. 1122; V. 61.

<sup>3</sup> There are only two logical alternatives: either knowledge, which, purely speaking, is itself Reality, that is, Eternal Existence, or Ignorance, which, etymologically speaking, is non-realisation of Reality and is technically known as Avidyā. There can be no Avidyā without Reality and there can be no Avidyā also after Reality proper is realised.



Oneness of Avidyā does not militate against the possibility of its sublation with regard to a particular Jīva and its continuation as usual for others, since its cessation is conditional and consequent upon Realisation of Reality, which is obviously an individual concern. Avidyā does not depend upon accidental or adventitious accessories for unfurling various appearances out of one Reality, as even the triune circle of Vāsanā, Kāma and Karma, responsible for the varieties of mundane experiences and migratory lives of individual souls, is also only the offshoot of Avidyā and contained in its womb as its necessary corollaries. Hence the causal apparatus of the entire empirical phenomenality ultimately reduces itself to Avidyā and the Appearance of Consciousness therein, enlivening and energising it as unlimited force and inscrutable power.

Avidyā is 'Avicārīta-Samsiddha' also in the sense that it is unprovable. It should not be taken as tantological, if it is remarked that Avidyā is 'Āvidyaka,' as there is no other word in any language to convey the sense of the latter. It is the supreme prerogative of Avidyā that it does not admit of any proof or epistemological process in respect of itself and if it can be admitted anywhere, it can be done so only with regard to Pure Reality, the Consciousness, which, as the witnessing self, manifests it and its modifications and, as the Supreme Lord, materialises, eventuates, consolidates and manifests them variously as diverse concrete objects of the universe by appearing in and through them numerous in response to them. All producibles of the universe are provable and are actually proved through any of the different epistemological processes, but Avidyā—the unavoidable sole instrumentality or primary causal condition behind all appearances and itself an uncaused appearance, being natural to Reality or apparently but inadvertitiously and beginninglessly



related to It as Its unaccountable force or inexplicable power (in such a way as not to prove detrimental or derogatory to Its being Pure Unity)—is intolerant of any proof or epistemological explanation; as it is the source and necessary presupposition of all logical and psychological process and their resultant empirical experiences. Avidyā is an appearance but not opposed to Reality, as Reality is ever glimmering through it and its modifications as their very source and sustenance but not as something wholly alien to them. It is sufficient to account for itself and is the inevitable ground of all other appearances and their cognitive processes and pragmatic values. It looms large as an established entity and veritably valid, forming as the unshakable foundation of the entire edifice of series of appearances as the whole universe and all, that prevail in it subjectively, objectively and epistemologically, but only so long as the Reality, which it seems to swing round and sway, is not realised to its utter sublation once for ever. All knowables, kinds and processes of knowledge owe their origin to it through non-realisation and wrong realisations of Reality, Pure Consciousness the Brahman; so Avidyā is established and supported directly by the witnessing self and not by any source and process of knowledge, which depend on and presuppose it as the fundamental ground of their etymological explanation.

The universe is an Āvidvaka array or a sustained series of appearances, arising from nonrealisation and wrong realisation of Reality through Avidyā. It is as 'Avicārita-Samsiddha,' that is, of 'non-realisational' or apparent reality (to use a newly word in order to convey the exact sense of the phrase), as its cause Avidyā is. Like the leaves of a pruned plant, old appearances pass away and new ones spring up instead. Appearances crop up unendingly as long as Avidyā continues to muffle Reality. They are to be stultified or effaced altogether only when their



root—Avidyā—is sublated by Brahma-realisation. Sureśvara does not recognise any reality of any description or nature whatsoever, attributable to any object independently of the one Reality, which alone appears to be empirical or seeming realities also in the empirical plane. All empirical entities—whether appraised and evaluated as real or illusory in the common parlance—are equally appearances with this difference that the former are primary appearances and the latter secondary ones. The empirical realities are appearances of Reality proper and are in no way better than the ordinarily admitted illusions so far as their nature and perishability are concerned, but the difference lies only with regard to the exact number of causal conditions and duration of persistence. Even as regards the necessary causal conditions, Sureśvara is of opinion that Avidyā alone is enough to explain all kinds of appearances and other auxiliary conditions, laboured at even by many colleagues of the same camp: (1) general apprehension of the Adhiṣṭhāna, that is, cognition of the underlying reality as something, divested of its distinctive features and not as a particular thing, (2) Samskāra or the residual impression of a previous experience of the superimposed and (3) defects—subjective, objective and instrumental (Pramāṭr-Prameya-Pramāṇa-doṣa) etc. are regarded flippant and superfluous by him. Thus excepting the one Reality, Brahman, all are appearances and sublatable by realisation of Reality.

It is difficult to decide whether Appearances of Consciousness are first elicited and then come out the modifications of Avidyā as their receptacles, animated and manifested thereby or the modifications of Avidyā are materialised first and then Appearances of Consciousness are elicited so as to enliven and sustain those modifications. Sureśvara says that there is no necessity of answering such objections, nothing is impossible in the realm of



Avidyā. Alternative or mutually contrary propositions, such as those of capability or incapability, possibility or impossibility and contradiction or non-contradiction arise only in the plane of proofs but not in the sphere of Avidyā, which is assumptive and explanatory logically but apparent and not real essentially. It governs the entire plane of proofs and provables so far as the discursive knowledge is concerned but instantaneously dwindles away or undergoes sublation in the light of Realisation which embraces pure consciousness directly and not its apparent form only. In keeping with the nature of Avidyā and Āvidyaka, all irregularities, discrepancies, logical inconsistencies and unaccountability of any kind are ornamentations to them and tend to establish them as "Avicārita-Samsiddha." So far some of the ontological and other special features of the Advaitic philosophy, set forth by Sureśvara in his works, have been dealt with.

Sureśvara has not contributed much to the epistemology of the Advaita Vedānta, which received ample development at the hands of later Advaitins. Nevertheless, it would be worth while to bring out his original views on some topics in this connection.

Firstly, the accounts for the omniscience of Īśvara in the following manner. Avidyā is an indispensable factor in the outcome of all entities of the universe, which are necessarily appearances, and Īśvara, being the consciousness appearing in and through that Avidyā, has a direct bearing on and relation to all, belonging to any period of time—present, past or future—and thus omniscience is natural to Him and independent of any causal condition or circumstance.

Secondly, Sureśvara does not recognise the necessity for any vṛtti in the process of cognition for objects, that are illumined directly by the witnessing self (Sākṣi-Bhāṣya Padārthas). Accordingly, no vṛtti of Avidyā is



accepted to account for the experience of Ajñāna etc. during Susupti. It is very remarkable that the subsequent apprehension, immediately after waking up from suṣupti (i.e., Deep Sleep) is not a recollection wholly or even partially according to him, but experience lingering on or continued from before with the addition of 'Aham' as the subject to it.

Thirdly, the function of vṛtti in the perceptual process, according to him, can be determined to be 'Abhedābhivyakti' or manifestation of identity between the subjective and objective appearances of Consciousness, that is, the Jīva and the 'Viṣayāvacchinna-Cidābhāsa'. As regards other problems on Epistemology, they have been already discussed above in the light of Sureśvara's 'Ābhāsa-Vāda' in their proper place.<sup>4</sup>

It has been pointed out above while defining the nature of the individual soul that the natural outcome of non-discrimination of Consciousness from Its own Appearance is the false identity of the Jīva with its receptacle and limiting adjunct—the psycho-physical organism. This erroneous notion of identity is the root-cause of all evils, from which individual souls in general unexceptionally and incessantly suffer. As long as the individual soul thinks that it is identical with the entire psycho-physical organism, it supposes itself related to all mental and physical changes as if they are taking place in itself and feels elated, perturbed, shocked etc. in accordance with various circumstances, accompaniments or surroundings on different occasions of its empirical life. This is technically called 'Adhyāsa', which consists in the illusory identity and consequent seeming transference or transmutation of the nature and attributes of the one to the other. Philosophically analysed, all experiences and

<sup>4</sup> B.B.V., p. 534, VV. 599—500,



enjoyments of the Jīva are explicable only through the Appearance of the Consciousness, conditioned by the mind, in the various attributes or modifications of the mind such as pleasure, pain etc. or the psychoses respectively. The four-fold aspect of cognition—the subjective, objective, instrumental and consequential—is nothing but Appearances of Consciousness in the various receptacles or adjuncts, such as the mind etc., the direct or indirect modifications of Avidyā. To sum up in a word, the whole life of the individual soul is merely an appearance and governed by appearance.

From all that has been stated so far, it must have been clear that it is the 'Appearance' which through non-discrimination makes the Consciousness, ever free in Its own essential nature conditioned by and identified with its receptacle-mind and thus enchained unendingly (excepting through Intuition of Reality) in the empirical life.

Similarly, in order to be free from all this bondage what is needed is the sublation of Avidyā, which, though beginningless and inadvertently present in Consciousness is अविचारितसिद्ध, that is one whose presence is admissible only so long as the discriminating Intuition of the Absolute Reality, the Brahman, has not dawned on the deserving soul. As pointed out above, actually Avidyā also is an appearance but it is the direct Appearance of Consciousness, which energises, enlivens and gives it its being by imparting seeming existence, reality and manifestation to it. But for this Appearance it would have never seemed to exist and appeared as real at all. Being an appearance it must be sublatable or annulable. But this is not to be sublated by Pure Consciousness, which brooks and gives it its being. It can be sublated by the empirical but discriminating knowledge<sup>5</sup>—direct and intuitional—arising from the sublime scriptural passages revealing the

<sup>5</sup> B.B.V., p. 915, V. 173; p. 1060, V, 167,



absolute identity of the Jīva with Brahman and opening the eyes as it were of the deserving soul (on the analogy of कण्टकेनैव कण्टकम्). This final and liberating Brahma-realisation is itself an appearance but the last Appearance of Consciousness in the psychosis, having its content—Brahman and not any of its apparant forms only in the afore-said manner. It is the last Appearance in the sense that it, having sublated Avidyā so far as that particular individual is concerned, undoes all the possible consequent receptacles or adjuncts which constitute the empirical life of that Jīva in particular and finally annihilates itself also. In other words, the mind—the permanent receptacle of that Appearance of Consciousness constituting or occasioning its seeming Jīva-bhāva in particular, having been sublated, the Appearance also is exterminated and erased once for ever; since the relation between the two—Appearance and receptacle—is organic and inseparable. The residue that survives this sublation and extermination, so far as that Individual soul in its primitive stages is concerned, is Pure Consciousness, Eternal Existence and Unlimited Bliss only. Accordingly, in the primary sense of the word, Mokṣa is the sublation of Avidyā and consequent erasement of the Appearance of Consciousness in its modification, which is empirically termed as mind, but in the secondary sense, it is the emergence or revelation (which is ever an accomplished fact but appears to be non-accomplished as obscured by Avidyā permanently but not endlessly) of Self-Same, Absolute and Bare Reality, Pure and Self-luminous Consciousness and Eternal, Unlimited and Unexcellable Bliss. For the attainment of this Mokṣa, nothing else but the direct Brahma—realisation through the Mahāvākyas is needed.

Before closing this analysis, it is necessary to explicate the nature of 'Appearance, which everything other than Brahman necessarily and exceptionally is, in the



light of Sureśvara's Ābhāsavāda. It is usual now to describe the universe as 'Anirvacanīya' according to the Advaita system and render the term as 'inexplicable'. This inexplicability may be taken as signifying a confession of ignorance about the ultimate nature of the universe. So it is necessary to explain the exact significance of the term in the light of Sureśvara's Ābhāsavāda. To characterise the universe as 'Anirvacanīya' is no doubt to reject the explanation that it is either 'Sat', 'Asat', or 'Sadasat', but it must be definitely understood that the rejection is not to be explained literally for it has a deep significance and a positive implication in accordance with the Advaita theory of knowledge, advanced by Sureśvara. That the illusory rope-serpant is Anirvacanīya means that it has no existence or reality of its own but we have to turn to something else for this, which is the so-called underlying reality behind it. Similarly, in the case of the universe also, we have to look elsewhere for what may be ultimately realised as the Reality behind and beyond all appearances. This Reality, Brahman, is the one Ultimate ground of all appearances, whether empirical or illusory. Thus the universe is Anirvacanīya in the sense that it is not self-explanatory and self-established but only 'Avicārita-Samsiddha', that is, appears to be self-established and utterly veritable for all intents and practical purposes only so long as Reality is not realised. It is a glistening glamour, which endures so long as Avidyā lingers and goes away for ever the moment Reality is realised. In other words, it means that the universe is an array of appearances, which come out and continue through and till the Realisation of the underlying Reality, necessarily pointed out and presupposed by them for their explanation as empirical realities out of Avidyā in and about that Absolute Reality.

As pointed out in one of the previous sections Avidyā



is responsible for suppressing and hiding the one Reality and showing in Its place the universe of diversity or plurality. This Avidyā is obviously not only an obscurative and suppressive factor but also a Creative principle, assumed under the logical necessity of explaining the appearance of the universe. Avidyā modifies itself variously, furnishing and serving as the necessary receptacles for the Appearances of one Reality and it is thus that Avidyā expresses itself empirically both as knowledge and object. It is impossible that knowledge in the empirical plane can be real, when the object is not so, for the relation between the two is organic and constitutional and the two are alike appearance of one and the same eternal Consciousness, which is Pure knowledge or A Priori immediately of course through different media presented by Avidyā. Accordingly, every appearance has an objective reference, as Avidyā does not show it as existent in the mind of a particular percipient but at a particular spot and time, which also are respectively only degrees nearness and succession in the order of appearances. Thus the Advaita system, unlike the school of Realism, recognises any empirical entity as not selfexplanatory and independent of the mind and, unlike the school of Subjectivism, refuses to accept it as purely mental also. It is denied only as Reality proper but not as 'Epistemological' realy or something logically existent till its appearance, which is terminable and sublatable by realisation of Reality. Again, in as much as the Advaita does not reject an external world as distinct empirically from experiences, it clearly avoids solipsism, which is the pit-fall of the idealistic schools. This is the true explanation of the nature of appearance, as elucidated by Sureśvara in conformity with his theory of Ābhāsa. From all that has been said in the preceeding pages it may be safely concluded that besides Reality, Brahman, all are appearances.



In one verse<sup>6</sup> Sureśvara conspicuously summarises all the possible apparent moments of movement and modifications in the Absolute, which taken together represents Reality with Its Appearances in its entirety. The Creator, the witness, and the inner Ruler on one side and the whole creation or entities of the universe—the object of creation, manifestation and government—on the other are all nothing but appearance only. This it is only the Appearance of Consciousness, which is directly involved in the tissues of empirical life and order (by way of their explanation). If Consciousness appears to be involved empirically at all, it is on account of Its nondiscrimination from Its Appearances in Avidyā and its modifications; otherwise, as a matter of truth or essentially speaking, Consciousness is above any association of phenomenality. Pure Consciousness or Reality Itself is ever untouched, unaffected, uninfluenced and uncontaminated by any kind of defilement, division limitation or relation, Reality or one Eternal being is held to be apparently but directly related to all empirical becomings, according to both the schools of Pratibimba and Avaccheda; whereas It is manifested to be so indirectly and incidentally; according to Sureśvara's Ābhāsavāda, it is only Appearances, diversely elicited from Reality answering to various receptacles (i.e. Avidyā and its modifications), that account for, govern and hold up the plurality of the universe. Nothing is really born out of It and of nothing It is born Itself.<sup>7</sup> It is one and one and there is nothing else similar to or dissimilar from or inherent in Itself. This is the real state of affair or truth from the view-point of Reality (Vastu-vṛtta), an unshakeable and perfect realisation of which ( सम्यक्तत्त्वपरिज्ञान )<sup>8</sup> puts an end to all empirical

<sup>6</sup> B.B.V., A. III, B. IV., p. 1228, V. 121,

<sup>7</sup> B.B.V., p. 1073, V. 244.

<sup>8</sup> B.B.V., p. 1076, V. 260:



existences, migrations and accompanying evils. All that impress as real upon the unenlightened mind as other than and independently of the one Reality are appearances only (अभासमान् ) and these appearances are not identical with Reality but an overgrowth through Its Avidyā. So the greatest and the most important contribution, made by Sureśvara, lies in enunciating the theory of Ābhāsa in order to give a new interpretation to the entire system of the Advaita and this task he has accomplished, with a remarkable success and a commendable originality of thoughts.



## PART II

### WHITEHEAD AND SANKARA

*By* DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO

#### GENERAL CRITICISM OF WHITEHEAD'S RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY

WHITEHEAD's conception of God is claimed by him to be strictly metaphysical. He invokes the concept of God in response to the deep metaphysical needs of his system. His God is modelled on Aristotle's conception. There are definite functions for Him in the system. God is one of the chief metaphysical categories necessary for the logical completion of the system. He is not treated in a manner unlike other metaphysical categories. He is the supreme instance of all the metaphysical categories

Whitehead is of opinion that the current conceptions of God adumbrated by the religious philosophers and theologians of tradition, do not accord with the deliverances of modern science. He criticises in detail the conception of God in terms of a supreme personality, and also the view of God as Absolute consciousness or spirit. He arrives at his conception of God through a detailed criticism of the concept of God as personality and spirit, and in sheer response to the metaphysical needs of his system. He is never tired of reiterating that only a philosophy of organism is in consonance with the conclusions of modern physical science. A philosophy of organism entails the conception of a metaphysical God.

It is sought to be maintained here, that Whitehead's criticism of the theistic conception of God, and the allied religious doctrines, are not unanswerable, nor are they invincible and conclusive. Further we discern that Whitehead's description of God, and the functions he



seeks to explain with the help of that concept, are neither easily intelligible nor very clear. We shall proceed to state Whitehead's case against traditional religious conceptions of God and then advert to their criticism.

The gravamen of Whitehead's charge against traditional theology is its adoption of the outmoded scientific ideas. He discusses the various possible views of the laws of nature and concludes that the law must be conceived as immanent. The view that a supreme personality has imposed a law on Nature has been the view of the traditional theologians. It is based on the Newtonian world view viz. that there are isolated bits of matter and definite laws governing their motions. No longer is such a world view tenable, because of the interrelated nature of objects. The Newtonian view helped the theologians to conceive of God as the imposer of laws on Nature. Whitehead is of opinion that the nineteenth century physics is the background for the view of an extracosmic suprapersonal God who imposes laws on Nature. The view is summarised by him as follows:—'there are bits of matter, enduring self-identically in space which is otherwise empty. Each bit of matter occupies a definite, limited region. Each such particle of matter has its own private qualifications such as its shape, its motion, its mass, its colour, its scent. Some of these qualifications change, others persist. The essential relationship between bits of matter is purely spatial. Space itself is eternally unchanging, always including in itself, this capacity for the relationship of the bits of matter. The materialism of the nineteenth century believed in the conception of matter as the only form of Reality, and the conception of the mechanical law as the only law. Besides they declared that evolution is automatic and predetermined. Against the background of this deterministic view of the universe the theologian erects his God and attributes the reign of law,



present in Nature as arising from the imposition of God. The theologians described God in strictly non-metaphysical terms. In the words of Whitehead, God 'stood in the same relation to the whole world as early Egyptian or Mesopotamian kings stood to their subjects populations. Also the moral characters were very analogous. In the final metaphysical sublimation, he became the one absolute, omnipotent, omniscient source of all being, for his own existence requiring no relations to anything beyond himself. He was internally complete.'<sup>1</sup> God stood out as an extra-cosmic entity. He was represented as eminently real and the world as derivatively real. God was necessary for the world but the world was not necessary for God. Thus the traditional theologians on the basis of nineteenth century physics created a gulf between God and the world.

Newton himself subscribed to such a view. He stated 'that the correlated modes of behaviour of the bodies forming the solar system required God for the imposition of the principles on which all depended. He was certainly doubtful, indeed more than doubtful, as to whether the Law of gravity was the ultimate statement of principles imposed by God. But he certainly thought that the conception of the solar system exhibited in his *Principia* was sufficiently ultimate to make obvious the necessity of a God imposing law'.<sup>2</sup> Newton's doctrine helped science a great deal. It is a definite and an easy view to understand. Whitehead is not chary in his compliment for the concept of 'Law as imposed'. He held the view that 'if success be a guarantee of truth, no other system of thought has enjoyed a tithe of such success since mankind started on its job of

<sup>1</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*. p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*. p. 144—145.



thinking. Within three hundred years it has transformed human life, in its intimate thoughts, its technologies, its social behaviour, and its ambitions.<sup>3</sup> The motive force of scientific research has been the implicit belief in some form of the imposition of Law and its consequent exactness. But for it men would not have sought to observe the grand uniformities of Nature. It is the belief in the possibilities of Laws that egged on men to research.

But for the doctrine of the 'imposed Law' the universe would be relapsing into lawless chaos. While bestowing a good deal of praise on the concept of the imposed Law whitehead is not slow to discern the defects and the terrible consequences of such a view. He affirms that such a cosmology is very easy to understand and very hard to believe.<sup>4</sup> It no doubt represents a clear and distinct system of ideas. But none the less it is based on an outmoded conception of conclusions of the physical sciences.

Whitehead rejects the theological conception of a supra-cosmic God because it is based on an outmoded scientific conception which does not give an intelligent account of the universe as a whole. It has shivered the universe into a multitude of disconnected substantial things. Further he declares that a sound metaphysics must overcome the dualism set out by the theologians. It requires a solution exhibiting the plurality of individuals as consistent with the unity of the universe, and a solution which exhibits the world as requiring its union with God, and God as requiring his union with the world. Sound doctrine also requires an understanding how the ideals in God's nature by reason of their status in his nature, are there by persuasive elements in the creative advance.<sup>5</sup> The world must not derive its laws or reality

<sup>3</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*. p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*. p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 215.



from the accidents of the will of God 'Metaphysics requires that the relationships of God to the world should lie beyond the accidents of will, and that they be founded upon the necessities of the nature of God and the nature of the world.'<sup>6</sup>

After making out a case for the philosophy of organism Whitehead sets up his metaphysical God and gives him some functions. In the formation of an actual entity we need the ingression of the eternal objects. It is God that determines as to which eternal object should ingress into the spatiotemporal flux. God is thus, the principle of actuality. He is also described as the principle of limitation. It is the premordial nature of God that is responsible for the graded relevance of the eternal objects. Apart from God there would be no novelty at all. This principle of limitation stands outside the world of flux. Thus 'God is the ultimate limitation and His existence the ultimate irrationality. For no reason can be given for just that limitation which it stands in his nature to impose. God is not concrete, but He is the ground for concrete actuality. No reason can be given for the nature of God because that nature is the ground of rationality' In simple language in order that a thing may be actual there must be some limitation upon possibilities since by virtue of becoming that thing, a thing excludes all the other infinitely numerous possible things which it might have been. It is God who carves the actual world from the realm of infinite possibilities.

The consequent nature of God is responsible for the objective immortality of the world. The objective immortality of the fluent world is secured in God. It is this aspect of God that saves the world as it passes into the immediacy of his own life. God's role is not the combat

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 215.



of productive force with productive force, of destructive force with destructive force; it lies in the patient operation of the over-powering rationality of his conceptual harmonisation. He does not create the world. He saves it or more accurately He is the poet of the world, with tender patience leading it by His vision of truth, beauty and goodness. In another passage He refers to God as the greatest companion and the fellow sufferer of men.

Further, Whitehead is of opinion that the metaphysical nature of his God does not suffer from the defects of the theologians' concept of God. God, according to Whitehead, determines the actualization of one of an infinite number of worlds that might have been. He does not create the world that actually is. So Whitehead's God is exonerated from the responsibility for the existence of evil and good in the world. Whitehead thinks that he scores here heavily over the theologian's concept of the personal and extra cosmic God. He is not in sympathy with the Leibinzian view that our universe is 'the best of possible worlds'. He declares that theory 'is an audacious, fudge' produced in order to save the face of a creator constructed by contemporary, and antecedent, theologians.<sup>7</sup>

Whitehead further criticises the theologians God as creating a great division between the world and Himself. He laments that there is no logical way of knowing God who is on the other side of the gulf. He distrusts mysticism and the nonlogical modes of knowledge. He trenchantly remarks that, 'It is only by drawing the long bow of mysticism that evidences for his (God's) existence can be collected from our temporal world.'<sup>8</sup>

Besides setting up the gulf, Whitehead points out that an omnipotent despot like God whose power is unqualified becomes responsible for the existence of evil.

<sup>7</sup> *Process and Reality*, p. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*, p. 217.



Evil stands out as a creation of God. The theologians' God is made responsible for evil. The notion of an absolute despot cannot escape the problem of evil. This does not touch Whitehead's God. He says 'the worst of unqualified omnipotence is that it is accompanied by responsibility for every detail of every happening.' He points out that the problem of evil and God's responsibility for it preclude him from accepting the theologians' description of God as an extra-cosmic and supra-personal being.

Before offering our criticism on the religious non-availability of Whitehead's God, let us in some detail examine his other charges. His indictment is that the concept of God in traditional theologies is based on a system of the outmoded conclusions of science. It is assuming a great deal for his system. It is certainly dogmatic even for Whitehead to identify the limits of philosophy with those of his system. His system does not derive any special validity because it is in consonance with the deliverances of modern sciences. Philosophical concepts and deep religious truths cannot go on changing with the time to time revised conclusions of the physical and the biological sciences. Religious ideas and philosophical truths are not dependent factors of the shifting conclusions of science. It is the expression of an anti-metaphysical bias to set up the conclusions of science as the norm for all religious and other truths. The erection of such a standard may help us to get at a completed and intellectually satisfactory view of Reality. The human being will certainly be pleased to learn that his unaided reason could construct a system, clear and intelligible. The God of such a system is purely an intellectual conception and may even be indispensable to the adequate understanding of the universe. But such a God does not play any part in the urgent problems of life. Bacon compared certain



philosophers to the stars which give very little light because they are high. This remark is not without some relevance to Whitehead's God.

Whitehead's love of Mathematics and his faith in the ultimacy of Time and his belief in the creative power of the process of reality are responsible for making him think that the philosophy of organism is very nearly the perfect system of metaphysics. But he has been oblivious of the deep needs of man which are answered by the God of the traditional theologies. In his anxiety to construct a purely metaphysical God he has given us a God who is of very little use to religion. His philosophy of organism like some of the evolutionist-philosophers is almost infatuated with the doctrine that we can get out of the process of reality in time ever new entities. Following the tradition of William James, Whitehead believes, 'that there shall be news'. James was fond of saying with rapture quoting from the unpublished poem of an obscure friend, 'that there shall be news in heaven.' The craze for novelty as emerging from the process is also deep in the philosophy of organism. But the line of thought is not new. Santayana observes 'that if the author of the book of Ecclesiastes were now alive, and heard that there shall be news in heaven, he would doubtless say that there may possibly be news there, but that under the sun there is nothing new.'<sup>9</sup> Not even the philosophy of organism.

To erect a concept of God and derive a philosophy from the evolutionary process of Reality is not a safe standard. It has no enduring foundations. Such a God does not answer to the religious needs of man. Years ago the great T. H. Huxley sounded the warning. He says 'let us understand, once for all that the ethical progress

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<sup>9</sup> Santayana, on: *Genteel Tradition in American Philosophy*, address delivered before the philosophical Union of the University of California, August 25, 1911.



of society depends, not on imitating the cosmic process, but still less in running away from it, but in combating it.<sup>10</sup> The method of the cosmic process is 'the gladiatorial theory of existence' where the strongest, the most self-assertive tend to tread down the weaker. Its demand is 'the ruthless self-assertion.' It involves the 'thrusting aside, or treading down of all competitors. From the working of the cosmic process we cannot derive a philosophy or a religion. We can strive to make the world moral in the light of our religion and conception of values. The norm has to be other than the cosmic process. The historical and the temporal cannot be the matrix from which we can derive our God. We must think transcendently and not historically. We should not adopt our Gods and build altars for them on the principle of the evolution of the universe. The God of the evolutionist is highly abstract and does not answer to the deep needs of men. We cannot simply accept the direction of evolution as good simply because it is evolution. It has to be estimated from outside and if possible directed in the light of religious values.<sup>11</sup>

The central defect of the philosophies of evolution is, they believe that science can give us the knowledge of Reality in all its aspects. They are blind to the transcendent and super-natural elements in Reality. They seek to explain the world in terms of the conceptions appropriate to and derived from the natural world. As a result of this we get a finite and a growing God with the universe as his partner. The evolutionist philosophers in their craze for progress have put their gods also on motion.

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<sup>10</sup> T. H. Huxley. *Evolution and Ethics*. p. 83, 1884.

<sup>11</sup> See Waddington's *Science and Ethics*. He holds that we must accept the direction of evolution as good simply p. 18. For criticisms see the reply of others in the symposium.



The status of such a God is no better than that of a mathematical figure.

Whitehead's God rests on the ultimate truth of the nature of his metaphysics. He has created a God to suit the requirements of his system. His God is as abstract as that of Aristotle. The concept of finite struggling God needing man's cooperation for perfecting Himself was the fashion set up by William James. Many of the natural philosophers have taken to it after him. They tell us that there is no use positing a perfect God and surrendering ourselves to Him. James characterised all types of absolutistic schemes as appealing to the 'tender minded'.

He exhorts the 'tough minded' to face an improving universe accept a finite God and subscribe to a pluralistic metaphysics. Modern evolutionist philosophers discern a special merit in the adventure in a chance universe. Years before William James put the following choice before men 'Suppose the world's author put the case to you; I am going to make the world not certain to be saved, a world the perfection of which shall be conditional merely, the condition being that each several agent does its own level best. 'I offer you the chance of taking part in such a world. Its safety, you see, is unwarranted. It is a real adventure, with real danger, yet it may win through. It is a social scheme of cooperative work genuinely to be done. Will you join the procession? Will you trust yourself and trust the other agents enough to face the risk.''<sup>12</sup> James found that a normally constituted healthy man would accept the choice with buoyancy and join the procession to perfect himself and his creator. Thus he would add his fiat to the fiat of God.

Whitehead in general belongs to the philosophical tradition of James. As James, he also is for an improving

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<sup>12</sup> William James: *Pragmatism*, pp. 290—297. (1907).



universe and a finite God. He believes that there is the need for the realisation of the god through the course of the process. The view that God is being perfected in the process of evolution and that he is at the end of the evolution is said to egg on men to moral activity. The God who is the *nisus* of evolution is held to escape the charge of anthropomorphism. Alexander, the great philosophical companion of Whitehead writes that the concept of God as a supra perfected person results from the inability of men to proceed rationally or to think in abstract terms. Men are in general creatures of imagination. 'It is small wonder that a creator who makes his creatures and sways their lives by His ordinances is easier and more natural to our work-day minds than such a being as has been suggested here. We shadow forth our abstract thoughts in the most accessible images and overlook their weakness, leaving them rather to provoke in our theologies whole volumes of controversy spent on the insuperable task of giving rational form to imaginative creations.'<sup>13</sup> After thus indicating the traditional God of theology of anthropomorphism, Alexander observes, 'It seems to me more reasonable (and helpful) to worship a being whose love draws us to him in front, and whom we thus help into existence, rather than a being independent of our efforts, who pushes us from behind.'<sup>14</sup>

Most of the religions of the world have examined the nature and predicament of man in all aspects and then have formulated the doctrines relating to the nature and destiny of man. They have not identified man with the entire world of matter. They find that man is something more than what the industrial chemist and the materialist

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<sup>13</sup> *Science and Religion*. (A Symposium) p. 139 (1934).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* p. 138.

<sup>15</sup> Vide. B. A. Howard—



resolve him into. Nor is man a body plus an extraordinary degree of scientific cunning.<sup>16</sup> All the religions of the world hold the view that man is spirit at his essential core. They declare that he lives in two worlds and really belongs to the higher. He is immortal. There is a perpetual urge in him to create things in the likeness of the spirit. This feeling is instinct with him. It is overlaid with other materials and thus we are confused and deluded. The deluded and confused human being is not satisfied with the intellectual concept of a God. To the ordinary human being who lives in the midst of perplexing situation the need to believe in a supra-personal God is the very source of His existence. This need to belief is not a psychological weakness nor is it an opiate. It is not the wet nurse complex as Freud described it. It is there deep in the very nature of man. The human being finds it difficult to live by the ordinary intelligence that is vouchsafed to him. Life bears a very hard on him. On account of his weakness he consistently finds it difficult to translate his knowledge into virtue. He finds his will be unable to will his knowledge. There is a constant struggle between our knowledge and our inclinations. We find it difficult in the face of real temptation to live by ourselves; our 'puny reason' and 'wavering uncertainty' cannot help us at the cross-roads of life. We need a self which is infinitely good and other than ourselves to stand by us and sustain the moral values in the universe. Such a spirit, the theist conceives in terms of an omnipotent good father. God

*The proper study of Mankind—*

“ Enough water to fill a ten-gallon barrel;  
 enough fat for seven bars of soap;  
 carbon for 9,000 lead pencils;  
 phosphorus for 2,200 match-heads;  
 iron for one medium-sized nail;  
 lime enough to whitewash a chicken coop; and  
 small quantities of magnesium and sulphur.”

<sup>16</sup> Byron: 'man is a two-legged reptile, crafty and venomous.'



is a power who is ākin to us, most sensitive to our wishes, responsive to our hopes and continually with us helping us to live aright and face the temptations with courage.<sup>17</sup> The perfect dissolution of the struggle is attained with the fellowship of the Lord. The human heart never rests satisfied till it attains its consumation in the self and the love of the Lord. The situations in life that demand the concept of God are in the experience of all. Pascal observed, 'the human mind believes naturally and the will loves naturally; consequently for lack of real objects it attaches itself to false objects.' The need to believe can never be eradicated. If we knock down the gods from the pedestal human idols spring up in their place.<sup>18</sup> This need to belief and man's desire for the fellowship with the Lord cannot find any substitute. 'Epicurus remarked, and not without reason that with a little bread and water, the wise man is the equal of Jupiter himself; Gilson improves the remark,' the fact is perhaps that with a little bread and water man ought to be happy but precisely is not; and if he is not, it is not necessarily because he lacks wisdom but simply because he is a man, and because all that is deepest in him perpetually gainsays the wisdom offered. The owner of a great state would still add field to field, the rich man would heap up more riches, the husband of a fair wife would have another still fairer or possibly one less fair would serve, provided only she were fair in some other way . . . . . This incessant pursuit of an ever fugitive satisfaction springs from troubled deeps in human nature . . . the very insatiability of human desire has

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<sup>17</sup> Some seek a father in heavens above Some ask a human image to adore Some crave a spirit vast as life and love Within thy massions have all and more. 3 Misc Book V.

<sup>18</sup> Disraeli remarks 'Give man nothing to worship and nothing to revere, and He will find altars and idols in his own heart and his own imagination . . . fashioning his own divinities and finding a chieftain in his passions.'



positive significance; it means we are attracted by a powerful goal.

This need for believing in a powerful personal God cannot be quelled by any substitute. The substitutes of religion can never take the place of real religion. The passion for communal improvement, or the zeal for social applause, cannot distract man from this fundamental unrest. Action however exciting, labour however absorbing, penury however exacting, love and hate however obsessing leave still a yawning gap. You may beat this exigency down, you may starve it out, or crowd it away; the need for God refuses to be eradicated. St. Augustine in the opening words of the confession declares 'Thou, O God, hast made us for thyself, and our hearts are restless until they find rest in thee.' The need for a supra personal God whose presence and strength is a treasure is made evident to us in the hour of temptation. At that moment we have neither the will nor the wisdom necessary for the act. Our will is weakened. We are passionate, and we bring to our passions an unavailing pity. Mere knowledge of the truth is not enough. Knowing too much and refusing to act as required by duty or moral law is a common weakness of men. The problem of temptation is a predicament we experience every day of our life. The subject has a terrific topicality to the distracted modern world. On the theists analysis, why theists on any spiritual analysis, 'things happen first in the soul and then the body.' The modern man is without any rule of life. He is distracted. Impulses drive him one way; fear holds him back; desire pulls, duty forbids; thus there is a tug of war. Behind the lineaments of the portrait of the Democratic man of Plato described in the eight book of the Republic we discern the contemporary face 'He (the Democratic man) spends as much time and pains and money on his superfluous pleasures as on the



necessary ones . He sets all his pleasures on a footing of equality, denying to none equal rights and maintenance and allowing each in turn, as it presents itself, to succeed to the government of his soul until it is satisfied. When he is told that some pleasures should be pursued and valued as arising from desires of a high order, others chastised and enslaved because the desires are base, he will shut the gates of the citadel against the messengers of truth, shaking his head and declaring that one appetite is as good as another and all must have their equal rights. So he spends his days indulging the pleasures of the moment, now intoxicated with wine and music, and then taking to a spare diet and drinking nothing but water; one day in hard training, the next day doing nothing at all the third apparently immersed in study. Every now and then he takes a part in politics, and jumps to his feet to say or do whatever comes into his head. Or he will set out to rival some one whom he admires, a soldier perhaps, or, if the fancy takes him, a man of business.<sup>19</sup>

The democratic man is the typical unregenerate intelligent man of to day. He submits himself to no order, or restraint, and he has 'no wish to change the existence which he calls pleasant and free and happy.' Indian philosophical systems and theistic creeds have found that it is difficult and impossible to attain perfection by the mere extension of the pleasures of life.

On close reflective analysis, we find that our ego and

<sup>19</sup> Plato, *Republic*. 561.

Vide Dryden's description of zimiri in *Absalom and Achitophel*

Part I Lines (541—551).

'A man so various that he seemed to be  
Not one, but all mankind's epitome;  
Stiff in opinion, always in the wrong,  
Was every thing by starts and nothing long;  
But in the course of one revolving moon  
Was chemist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon;  
Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking.



unregenerate life overlay themselves with thick layers of unreality and prevent the inflow of the grace. The need for the grace of the Lord becomes evident to us when we are face to face with our 'infinite watchedness.' Life bears sometimes very hard on us. There are moments of discouragement in us, when we are sick of the self and tired of vainly striving. Our own life breaks down, and we fall into the attitude of the prodigal son. We mistrust the chances of life; we want a universe where we can just give up and fall on our father's neck and say, 'It is finished father, into thy hands I commend this spirit'. It is by this surrender of the ego, or the offering of the self that there is the inflow of the grace. But man finds it very hard to shed the ego in its various forms. It is only when everything fails him and bewildered by the accidents of finite experience, man finds that his grip on surface supports will not be of any avail. It is at this moment that man experiences the everlasting arms underneath sustaining him. It is this surrender that recharges man with the new spirit. The spirit of man mutates during this experience. In christian language the crucifixion must go before resurrection. But the self-surrender in a complete fashion is not possible for the unregenerate human being. Eckhart, the German mystic, observes, 'the opening of the door, your escaping out of the suffocating person of the ego, and God's entering, the king and the kingdom coming unto you are one and the same act, an instantaneous transaction and reciprocation.' Śrī Ramakṛṣṇa, the great eastern mystic, said, 'bliss begins that moment the ego dies. 'Nothing burns in Hell but the ego.' The human soul is so near the Lord, but still finds itself hard to surrender to Him. Anselm expresses the idea neatly. He says, 'how far am I from thee who are so high to me. It is only one step but an immeasurable step from Time to eternity.



The need for this surrender and the strength of the presence of the Lord is most evident to us when we face troubles, temptations and trials in life. We are perplexed at the problem of life. There is a Sanskrita saying which expresses in a pointed manner the helplessness of man. 'Man knows what is Dharma and does not practise it, and he knows what is adharma and does not desist from it'<sup>20</sup> St. Paul's confession echoes the sentiment 'the good that I would, do not, the evil that I would not, that I do.'<sup>21</sup> St. Augustine declares in dejection, 'I know not how it is, that an object of desire becomes more seductive when it is forbidden.' There seems a condemnation on man that he should profess ideas of universal harmony and make perpetual war with the neighbour. In the words of the gospel,<sup>22</sup> 'this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil'. John Bunyan depicted Lord Hate-good as the presiding judge over the tribunal at the vanity fair. The character and name ring true to life. In the east the representative man in the *Gītā* asked Kṛṣṇa 'what impels a man to commit sin in spite of himself and driven as it were by force?' Lord Kṛṣṇa puts his finger on the main cause and source i.e. unregenerate human desires. Human egotism sets itself against the infinite and works as if nothing but its strength counts. Evil arises, according to Reinhold Niebuhr, not an account of man's finiteness, but out of his refusal to admit his creatureliness. It arises out of man's rebellion against God. He hankers after infinity. The scientific materialist of our day giddy with the success attained over material things declares himself to be God.

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<sup>20</sup> Jānami dharmam na ca me pravṛttiḥ,  
Jānāmyadharmaṁ na ca me nivṛttiḥ.

<sup>21</sup> St. Paul *Rom.* VII 19.

<sup>22</sup> St. John III 19.



He declares in the words of the *Gītā* 'the world is false, without a moral basis, and without God, what is there that does not spring from mutual union, lust is the cause of all.'<sup>23</sup> He recounts his exploits with a swagger. He says 'this enemy I have slain, and other too I will slay. I am the Lord of all and I enjoy myself. I am prosperous, mighty and happy. I am rich and of high birth, who is there like unto me? I will perform sacrifices, I will give alms, I will rejoice.'<sup>24</sup> In the hour of trial and temptation there is no good attempting to live by our 'puny reason' and wavering uncertainty. In the logical language it is sin not to admit the creatureliness of man. Faith in conceptual reason, and self conscious intellect with its clean analysis and limited aims are in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan 'the logical counter part of human egoism.'<sup>25</sup> Pascal in a celebrated passage points out, by ourself in effects, it is no use trying to do good, you are too sinful; by yourself, it is no use trying to be wise; your folly is too crass' After this we have the assurance in the words of Pascal 'But fortunately here is no need to try to be by yourselves since there is one who will lead you, one who will give you the strength to do good and wisdom to go aright.'

It is in the pragmatic demand of man in his effort to live aright that the God of religion helps him. He finds that he only hankers after infinity and is not really so. He realises his infinite wretchedness and helplessness, and at the same time needs the infinite goodness of god to help him. The great theists of the world have all employed their gifts of logic and powers of argumentation to lay bare this need of man in the hour of his temptation.

<sup>23</sup> *Gītā*: XVI, v 8.

<sup>24</sup> *Gītā*: XVI, v 14-15.

<sup>25</sup> The fool hath said in his heart there is no God.



It is the God of religion and not a metaphysical entity that gives us security in the dire hour of our need. The Lord of the *Gita* says, 'those who meditate on me and worship me and no other and who are ever devoted to me-to them I ensure all that is necessary.'<sup>26</sup> Jesus observed 'let not your heart be troubled. Ye believe in God.'<sup>27</sup> The God of religion is the comfort and the companion of man. It gives significance and security to moral life. A God who is a neat intellectual construct rounding off a metaphysical system, with no purposes, with no grace does not answer to the needs of man. Such a god does not create the world nor could he have made it otherwise than as it is. The things of the world follow from his fixed nature. Judged by this test Whitehead's God is not available for religion.

Further we have the fundamental difficulty in knowing Whitehead's God, because he is never perfect and independent of the evolving process. God realises his fulness through the process of reality. God finds his completion in terms of the world process. He has a past which is irrevocable and unrealised in future. At no time do we have a completely perfect God. There is a finite aspect which is constitutive feature of God. Thus the God of Whitehead does not completely exist. So we cannot know him. He is not the creator of the world and at best he is one factor in it. So we cannot have unquestionable faith in the rationality and the order of the universe. The great evolutionist philosophers are distrustful of mysticism and ask us, 'what guarantee have we that, that light (mystic vision) may not be a wandering fire?' 'It needs confirmation from the accordance of its deliverances with the whole of our experiences.'<sup>28</sup> But the intellectual

<sup>26</sup> *Gītā*: IX, V, 22.

<sup>27</sup> *St. John*: XIV, 1.

<sup>28</sup> *Science and Religion*. p. 137.



perception of the evolutionists' God can never be complete for he does not exist at any time. He is yet to be. The metaphysical tendency of the scientific philosophers has been to envisage objects under the form of time 'to write' in the words of A. E. Taylor, the object's life history. 'The entire' hierarchised nature of the universe is explained as due to the configurations, in a kinematical system, with the result that we get a God who is abstract. This is due to the excessive trust that Whitehead has in mathematics. He supposes that his favourite subject must provide the solution of every problem in the universe. It is all due to Whitehead's presupposition that symbolic logic and mathematics are the key to the problems of aesthetics, ethics and theology that is responsible for such an abstract concept of God. This is an illustration of the fact as to how great minds can be obsessed by single ideas.<sup>29</sup>

The scientific bias of some of the contemporary philosophers is more than the theologian's. Centuries ago Pascal condemned the attempt to subject the laws of science to theological dictations. He declared 'the jesuits have procured a decree from Rome that the earth does not resolve, but, if it really resolves, no decree can alter that fact.'<sup>30</sup> A. E. Taylor comments with a sense of terrific topicality, 'in our own day we more commonly, perhaps, see the process reversed. We see the invoking of something like "decree" from the Royal society in condemnation of the doctrines of theology'.<sup>31</sup> If we believe Pascal in religious experiences the witness we have of God in ourselves and the light of nature we experience need not be set down as fancies embodied under some mood of excitement, having no basis in the solid facts and the

<sup>29</sup> Vide. W. T. Staces review of P. A. Schilpp's *philosophy of A. N. Whitehead-Mind* Vol. II. No. 205, Jan (1943),

<sup>30</sup> *Letters ecrites aun provincial*, XVIII.

<sup>31</sup> A. E. Taylor. *The Jaith of a Moralst. Series II p. 395* (1931).



general nature of things. They are real facts and no decree can make them unreal.

The charge of anthropomorphism is levelled at the God of all types of theism. It is described as arising from the conceit of the human being. Man has chosen to make God in his own image and attribute human qualities in extraordinary proportion to him. This charge is true to a degree. But that is a limitation natural to the human mind and finite intelligence. It has to think always with the help of some analogy or other. Thomas Aquinas points out that there is no way left for man to think of God except in the method of analogy.

The picture of God is some times that of a holy father or a divine mother. We have the glassy seas and many mansions also. They are only symbols and the symbol depends upon the culture and tradition of the age and the people that invent them. We must not take them as literal truths. Anthropomorphism is the method through which man expresses his self. He expresses his love for the divine through symbolism and art. The anthropomorphic ideas are valuable as long as they strengthen our faith don't strangle it. As long as they help the human spirit they need not be superseded<sup>32</sup>

The charge of anthropomorphism against the god of the theist has no doubt some force and significance. But here is a case of the pot calling the kettle black. The charge turns out to be a boomerang. It recoils on the evolutionists. Dr. Joad points out, 'the conceit involved in the traditional view is as nothing compared with the aggrandisement of the human spirit implied by the philosophy of emergence. For the emergent God is not only imaginatively conceived by man's spirit, he is actively made by man's efforts. Not only are his attributes the products of our conception, not only are His virtues and

<sup>32</sup> Dr. C. E. M. Joad: *God and Evil* p. 153,



values the projection of our aspirations, but is reality is our gift.<sup>33</sup> Thus we see that the evolutionist philosophers are not away from anthropomorphism. They make man the measure of everything. The universe for them in the words of Bergson 'is a machine for producing Gods'. Such a view leaves out a lot and makes man the creator and the bestower of reality to his God. It is this exaltation of man and the non-admission of his finitude that is responsible for the doctrines of eternal progress and the pursuit of the Faustian infinity. These doctrines mistake perfection as a process of progress. The eternal travel or ascent is regarded as the path to perfection.

Goethe contradicted Eckermann's description of human thought and action as repeating themselves by going round in a circle. He asserted that human thought 'is not a circle; it is a spiral.' Mr. Hume, the author of *Speculations* has a powerful rejoinder to Goethe in his saying 'this is to disguise the wheel by making it run up an inclined plane?'

If the God of the evolutionist is finite, his fate would be no better than that of the universe along with which he evolves. His doom is not different from that of the universe. The immanent evolving Gods share the same fate as the universe. The fate if the second law of thermodynamics is to be trusted, is to achieve a condition of eventless stagnation. Dr. Joad has a very eloquent description of that state, which awaits the universe and a finite God. 'The last inhabitants of the earth will be as destitute, as feeble and as dull witted as the first. They would have forgotten all the arts and all the sciences. They would huddle wretchedly in caves in the sides of the glaciers that will roll their transparent masses over the half obliterated ruins of the cities, where men now think and love, suffer and hope. The last desperate survivor

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<sup>33</sup> Dr. C. E. M. Joad: *God and Evil* p. 153,



of mankind will know nothing of our genius, nothing of our civilisation. One day the last man callous alike to hate and love, will exhale to the unfriendly sky the last human breath and the globe will go rolling on bearing with it, through the silent fields of space, the ashes of humanity, the picture of Michelangelo and the remnants of the Greek marbles frozen to its icy surface.<sup>32</sup> Such a prospect for God or the universe is not calculated to evoke religious sentiments nor will it satisfy the religious soul.

Whitehead claims that the traditional concept of God is open to the difficulty of the problem of evil. He adds that his conception of God is free from such defects. 'God is not the creator of the world and as such is not responsible for the evil therein. He does not explain away evil, but admits its existence. He describes evil as a 'destructive agent among things greater than itself'<sup>34</sup> The moral order of the world for him consists in 'the fact of the instability of evil.' But he again and again points out that evil is essentially unstable. 'Evil promotes its own elimination by destruction, or degradation, or by elevation . . . But in its own nature it is unstable.'<sup>35</sup> There is evil when things are not in order and when they are at cross purposes. Whitehead perceives, 'the ultimate evil in the temporal world is deeper than any specific evil. It lies in the fact that the past fades, that time is a 'perpetual perishing.'<sup>36</sup> He is of opinion that evil is responsible for the character of things that are mutually obstructive. We have to build harmony by transforming these obstructive elements. This can be done only by struggle. 'The struggle with evil is a process of building up a mode of utilisation by provision of intermediate elements in-

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<sup>34</sup> Dr. Joad. *Guide to Modern thought*, p. 42, (1943)

<sup>35</sup> *Religion in the Making*. p. 83.

<sup>36</sup> *Religion in the Making*. p. 83.



roducing a complex structure of harmony.'<sup>37</sup> It is because of this that Whitehead regards that 'evil is the way house between perfection and triviality'.<sup>38</sup>

The theist's God is said to be tainted by the evil. Though it is generally held that many a student of philosophy is precluded from accepting God because of the problem of evil and the difficulties it presents, it is not so. According to a few it is the very problem of evil that makes men accept God. The late W.R. Sorley holds the view that the problem of evil constitute a chief consideration, which disables us from denying God. He argues that 'evil would cease to be a problem but for the presupposition that God exists'.<sup>39</sup> Why should the problem of evil offend us, unless we assume the existence of an all-powerful and all-good being? We should have no right to object to it any more, it would never have occurred to us to object to it except on the basis of the presumption that God exists and is good. Sorley holds the view that the problem far from discrediting theism, entails it. So we find that the problem does not necessitate atheism, nor does it impair the theist's God as Whitehead imagines.

Thus we find that neither the God of Aristotle nor that of Whitehead performs the functions for which God was invoked in the past. The concept of God must be capable of answering certain definite requirements of religious consciousness. Aristotle for whom Whitehead has such admiration has given us God who is perfect and as such he does not soil his hands by creating imperfect things. His one activity is self-contemplation. He moves the world through its appetition. Such a God is 'not the loving father of mankind nor 'the lord of all the

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<sup>37</sup> *Process and Reality*, p. 482.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.* p. 482.

<sup>39</sup> *Adventures of ideas* p. 355.



worlds and the friend of all.<sup>40</sup> Religion requires a personality, and not a completed philosophy of organism.

William Temple in his Gifford lectures *Nature, Man and God* points out that Whitehead's God described under two aspects the primordial and the consequent, does not clearly explain the functions for which they are evoked. For example, Whitehead observes that the primordial nature of God is the desideratum for his metaphysics. It is by virtue of this entity 'that the multiplicity of external objects obtains its graded relevance to each stage of concrescence. Apart from God there would be no relevant novelty.' William Temple argues 'the mere fact of positing an entity because of logical requirements does not tell us as to how 'novelty' results from a metaphysical entity. The nature of the metaphysical entity must be described and must be conceived in terms of a personality. Unless we do so we will not be able to explain satisfactorily how the primordial nature of God accounts for novelty. Once we posit the personality of God we will be in a position to explain novelty, concreteness and other factor in the light of the purposes and desires of the supreme spirit. For this we have to go beyond the concept of organism to the concept of personality. Then only can we explain as to how the primordial and the consequent nature of God work. Without such a concept they would merely remain as formal factors without significance. The first principles of Whitehead's metaphysics do not admit the personality of God. This is due to the initial prejudice that we cannot refer the universe or its process to any class higher or wider than itself. It has no similar and no other, all classes and concepts must be found within it, not outside it. Our seeking to understand the process must be from within and not without. We are ourselves a part of the universe, or factor of it and an outside view of it is im-

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<sup>40</sup> *Gītā*: V 29.



possible. The question is not how God is, but how he participates and informs the universe.

Further Whitehead's grand descriptions of God and the several images he employs to express the ideas are incompatible with the concept of organism. The attributes such as 'love, tenderness' and 'great companion' and 'fellow sufferer' have no meaning with reference to an organism. They have no cosmic character. They fit in with the concept of a supra-personal God and not a philosophy or organism. William Temple feels that the philosophy of organism should not stop short of personality. If Whitehead could take one step on to the idea of personality from organism there would be no difference between him and the Christian philosophy.

Whitehead's arguments for the existence of God are no improvement on the traditional proofs. The cosmological, the ontological and the teleological proofs for the existence of God do not demonstrate the God of religion. They at best raise presumption in favour of the existence of God. They do not prove a loving father of mankind. The best proof for the existence of God is religious experience of the mystics. Religious experience and the deep human need for God, constitute the conclusion evidence for the existence of God. Whitehead's argument that God is a metaphysical requirement of his system may round off his system but does not demonstrate the existence of God. The author of the Vedānta sūtra points out that mere reasoning cannot give us a conclusive metaphysical system nor an abiding religious faith.<sup>41</sup> Sāṅkara commenting on the sūtra points out, 'as the thoughts of a man are altogether unfettered, reasoning which disregards the holy texts and rests on individual opinion only has no proper foundation. We see how arguments, which some clever men had ext- cogitated with great pains, are shown, by people still more

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<sup>41</sup> *Vedānta sūtra* II, 1, 11.



ingenious, to be fallacious and how the arguments of the latter again are refuted in their turn, by other men; so that on account of the diversity of men's opinions it is impossible to accept mere reasoning as having a sure foundation.' Thus we see that reason can be refuted by better reason but spiritual experience is ultimate and final. The function of God in religion is to give satisfaction and strength to the individual in the art of living. Satisfaction of the metaphysical instinct is not enough. Barren speculation, dry intellectual feats, sheer logical rigour, architectonic thinking and the sense of a rounded metaphysical system cannot give us a god of religion.

The doctrine that has the longest intellectual ancestry is the idea of God. It has sustained us in all our efforts and has given meaning to all our endeavours. Cicero said, 'What gods are is a matter of dispute, but that they are is denied by none.' Epictetus held the view that we are all fragments of God. St. Augustine in the opening words of the Confession said 'thou, O God, hast made us for thyself and our hearts are restless until they find rest in thee.' The author of the Imitation towards the conclusion of his work exhorts men to have simple faith in God and not trust 'curious and unprofitable reasoning.' 'God is able to work more than man can understand.' So all reason and natural search ought to follow faith, not to go before it, not to break in upon it. John Milton observes, 'the end of all learning is to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate Him, to be like Him as we may the nearest, by possessing our souls of true virtue.

Berkeley with infinite compassion for mankind observes. 'It seems to be a general pretence of the unthinking herd that they cannot see God. Could we but see Him, say they, as we see a man, we should believe that He is, and believing obey His commands. But alas, we need



only open our eyes to see the sovereign Lord of all things, with a more full and clean view than we do any of our fellow creatures'.<sup>42</sup>

After a few pages, Berkley concludes 'it is therefore plain that nothing can be more evident to any one that is capable of the least reflection, than the existence of God, or spirit who is intimately present to our minds-producing in them all that variety of ideas or sensations which continually affect us, on whom we have an absolute and entire dependence, in short, 'in whom we live, and move, and have our being.' That the discovery of this great truth, which lies so near and obvious to the mind, should be attained by the reason of so very few, is a sad instance of the stupidity and in-attention of men, who, though they are surrounded with such clear manifestations of the Deity, are yet so little affected by them that they seem, at it were, blinded with excess of light.'<sup>43</sup>

Thus we find that the God of religion answers to our deepest needs. He is the truest truth (satyasya satyam). Berdyaev puts it: 'where there is no God, there is no man, man without God is no longer man.'

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<sup>42</sup> Berkeley *A Treatise on the Principles of Human Knowledge*. 1, 148.

<sup>43</sup> Berkeley *A Treatise on the Principles of Human Knowledge*. 1; 149.



## VIEWS OF SCHOLARS REGARDING THE VEDAS—III

*By* GIRISH CHANDRA AWASTHI.

I HAVE furnished evidence of the contemporaneity of the Vedas in my first article and have exposed the hollowness of the arguments of European scholars in my second article.

In this article I propose to discuss before the public the truth of the assertion of scholars that the *R̥gveda* does not contain any description of the Sea. This assertion is being blatantly made by teachers in their lectures to University students. This assertion has now percolated to Hindi books and is thus misleading even small children. If some Nāgarī knowing person comes across the word "Samudra" at many places in the *R̥gveda* his suspicions are allayed by asserting that the word refers to the river Indus (Sindhu) or a lake of that name in the Punjab.

Even a Devanāgarī knowing child can find that the word "Samudra" has occurred a number of times in the *R̥gveda*. At a few places it means the sky but elsewhere it always counts the ocean as is known to every-body.

In the Sanskrit language the word Sindhu in the masculine gender means the ocean or particular river. In the feminine gender it means either rivers in general or only the river Indus alone. But the word Samudra never means the Sindhu river in Sanskrit language.

I will now place before you some quotations from the *R̥gveda* containing descriptions of the Ocean.

Ṛcā 1/19/7 contains a prayer to Vāyu (air) in which there is a description of the moving of the clouds and the creation of the waves in the ocean by Vāyu. In



Ṛcā 1/11/1 there is a prayer to Indra in which Indra is described as all pervading like the ocean. Do the Sindhu river or the lake in Punjab named Samudra pervade the world? In Ṛcā 1/25/7 there is a prayer to Varuṇa in which it is said that Varuṇa know the movements of the ships sailing in the water of the ocean i.e. he is aware of the positions and conditions of the ships. In Ṛcā 1/44/12 there is a prayer to Mitra in which it is said that he is as glorious as the resounding waves of the Sindhu i.e. Samudra (Ocean). In Ṛcā 1/32/2 it is said that when Indra splits the clouds with his Vajra, the rain falling from the split clouds goes to the ocean. Just as cows go to their calves—the mantra of the *Rgveda* describes the natural flowing of the rain water to the Ocean. Rain water ultimately flows into some ocean or the other and not into the Sindhu river or any Punjābī pond. In Ṛcā 1/56/2 there is a prayer to Indra in which it is said that performers of Yajñas pray to Indra though prayers in the same way as merchants proceed though the ocean in ships to make money. In Ṛcā 1/48/3 Uṣā Devī or the goddess of the dawn urges the chariots to proceed in the morning in the same way as those who desire wealth loads ships and send them to sail in the ocean. In Ṛcā 6/62/6 there is mention of the saving of Bhujya. In Ṛcā 1/116/3-4-5 in the course of prayer to the Aświnī Kumāras it is said that Rājā Tugra sent his son, Bhujya by Sea to conquer the enemies. In the course of the description it is stated that when the ships of Bhujya were destroyed in the ocean, he prayed to the Aświnī Kumāras and they saved Bhujya and his army and took them to dry land in three days in a hundred ships which could proceed on land, in the air and in water and which had hundreds of rowers, had six horses harnessed and wings fixed. (Ṛcā 1/182/5). Here the ocean is called Udmegh. You can realise how for the



Aświnī Kumāras could take Bhuja in three (3) days in such ships. The word “anāram bhāve” has been used here in the description of the ocean which means “devoid of land”. Can dry land be so distant in the Sindhu river that even ordinary ships could take so much time in reaching it? In R̥cā 1/95/3 the mantra mentions the three birth places of Agni. One is in the sky in the form of lightning fire. The second is in the form of the Sun. The third is in the form of fire spout (barwanal) in the ocean. Can there be a barwānal in the Sindhu river or in the Panjābī hole. In R̥cā 2/35/3 there is a description of Urwa and Urwa is a barwānal which is found in the ocean and is always developed by the water of the ocean. It is not possible for the barwānal to exist in the Sindhu river or the Panjābī ditch.

In R̥cā 3/45/3 there is a description of the badwānala in the ocean. In R̥cā 3/22/2 in a prayer to Agni it is said that it is his glow that is found in the fire named Aurwa in the ocean. In R̥cā 3/3/19 in a prayer to Indra the fire of the ocean is counted by the words Urwa and it is said that on aspirations are growing like the barwanal of the ocean. In R̥cā 8/102/4 there is a description of the fire develling in the ocean. In R̥cā 4/58/11 there is a description of the barwānal in the Sea. In R̥cā 6/5/13 the word Samudraiḥ has been used. There is a prayer to the oceans for protection. As the Sindhu river and the Panjābī hollow are single they cannot be referred to in the plural number which can be used only for three or more objects. This then refers to the four oceans. In R̥cā 9/80/1 occurs the word Samudrasaḥ which means pervading the earth like the ocean. In R̥cā 4/16/7 there is a prayer to Indra in which there is a description of Indra dropping from the sky the water of the oceans. It is the water of the oceans which causes the Monsoon rains. This is clearly a description of the



ocean. Can the water of the Sindhu river or the Panjābī ditch cause rainfall in the world? In R̥cā 10/47/2 in prayers to Indra there is mention of the four oceans being permeated with the glory of Indra. In R̥cā 9/34/6 occur the words Caturaḥ Samudrān. These four oceans refer to the oceans surrounding the earth on the four sides. Can the word Samudra imply the Sindhu river or the Panjābī ditch? In R̥cā 10/89/1 it is said that the glory of Indra is greater than that of the ocean. Here the plural word "Sindhubyah" has been used. Can the plural word mean the Sindhu river, it being only singular? The Sindhu river is not such a great thing that a comparison with it would become the glory of the worshipped god. In R̥cā 10/98/5 the mantra prays to the Gods that beautiful water may fall from the upper ocean in the form of sky and flow into the ocean on the earth. In R̥cā 10/104/8 the mantra prays to Indra to fill the Sindhu Samudra (Ocean) with the seven beautiful rivers. In R̥cā 10/136/5 there is a description of the eastern ocean and the Western Ocean. Can either of these be the Sindhu river or the Panjābī ditch? R̥cā 10/137/2 contain a description of two winds which reach the Eastern ocean and the Western ocean. In R̥cā 8/3/10 there is a prayer to Indra in which it is said that Indra produced with his limitless strength water to fill the oceans to the brim. In R̥cā 8/12/5 there is a description of a tide in the ocean. The tide occurs in the ocean owing to the rising of the moon and Sāyana has taken this to mean that the ocean rises on seeing the moon. R̥cā 2/20/24 contains both the words "Sindhau" and "Samudreṣu". This makes a distinction between "Sindhu" and "Samudra". R̥cā 7/96/7 describes the falling of the Saraswatī river into the ocean and Zimmer in "*Altindisches Leben*" 22 et seq. has at one place taken "Samudra" to mean the ocean and at other places has



taken it to mean the Sindh river which is made up by the joining of the streams of five rivers.

On the other hand Max Muller in "*Sacred Books of the East*" 32, 61 *et. seq.* has differed from Zimmer and has alway taken "Samudra" to mean the ocean in the *Rgveda*. Lassen in "*Indische Alter Thums Kunde*" 12,883 has also taken "Samudra" to mean the ocean in the *Rgveda*.







# HEALTH PROBLEMS OF MITHILA

By LAKSHMIKANT

## I

### *Introduction*

As Kashmir is the garden of India, Mithilā is the garden of Bihar. It is a place of beauty and has its own history and culture. It is a place of abundance but a place of poverty too—a paradox.

In this small article an attempt has been made to ventilate the present problems of health which have been prevailing in the rural areas of Mithilā. Suggestions for improvement have also been made.

*Physiography.*—Mithilā proper is situated in Tirhut and Bhagalpur Divisions of the Province of Bihar in India. It comprises of the districts of Darbhanga, some portions of the district of Muzaffarpur, North Bhagalpur, Motihari, Monghyr and Purnea. Its general slope is from North to South but the gradient is small. It is traversed by the rivers—Kamālā, Kośī, Bāgvatī, Balāna, Gaṇḍaka, Tiljugā (Triyugā), Dhemurā, Tilabi etc. Most of these rivers which have their origin in the Himalayas are fed by numerous hilly streams flowing through the Nepal territory. The land of Mithilā has a high reputation of being the most fertile; the reason being that the above-mentioned rivers bring silt with flood water. But the river Kośī is a great devastating river which has covered a large track of alluvial soil with jungles and has converted it into sandy land. It has a great influence on the health and economical conditions of Mithilā.

Mithilā proper has got an area of 19,000 square miles with a population of 92 lacs.



Mithila is bounded by the river Gangā on the south, by the Gaṇḍaka on the west, Nepal on the north and the old bed of the Kośī on the east.

*Topography.*—Mithilā shows distinct variations in its different parts. It can be divided into four regions—according to its physical features as shown in the map :

1. *Tarai area.*—It is situated on the border of Tarai of Nepal. The people are backward and usually away from Railway stations. Communication is bad. Area is moderately malarious. Frequent infection of cholera is brought from Nepal side.

2. *Gangetic Plain area.*—This area is drier and is situated on the bank of the river Gangā. It is visited by the flood of the Gangā which brings silt. The nature of the flood is temporary and not devastating. The climate is not moist but drier. The land is very fertile and famous for many crops such as chilly, tobacco, wheat etc. The people are healthy and hardy.

3. *General Plain area.*—The general plain area covers the largest portion of Mithilā. It is flat and is not visited by floods mostly. The climate is moist as described elsewhere.

4. *Flooded area.*—It is mainly flooded due to the rivers Kośī and Kamalā. It can be divided into :

- (1) Direct Kośī area and
- (2) Post-Kośī area.

(1) *Direct-Kośī area.*—It is about 1900 sq. miles in area and its population is about 12,28,991.

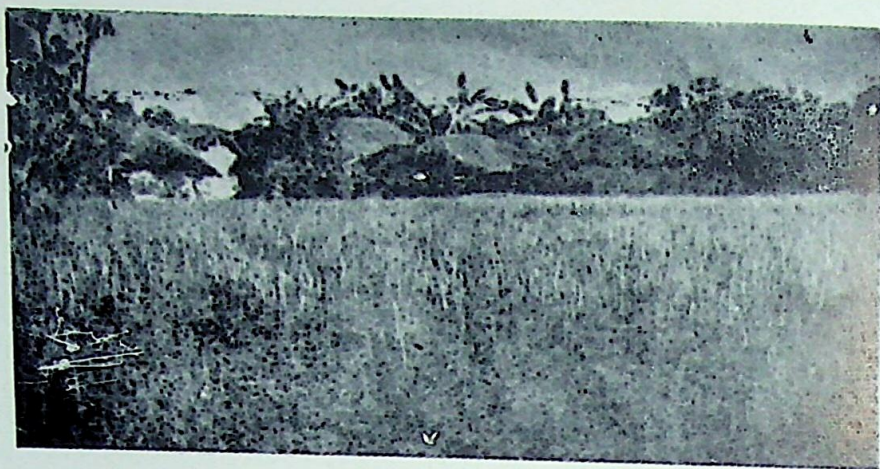
An extract from an article written by Shri Laliteshwar Mullick in this connection is quoted below :

“The sting of the attack of the river is not felt all at once. The spile flood-water of the river visits a village for a few years varying from five to twenty years. It is a period of plenty and happiness though not unmixed with sorrow. The jack-fruit and









Weeds in Kosi affected area.



Weeds in Kosi area. (Another view.)





some mango and lichi trees dry up. Some stray bushes of Jhowa, Kāśa, and Pater make their appearance here and there. A few pregnant women and a few of the more playful of the children pay the debt of nature. A few shallow beds are dug up. But the good done far out-weighs the losses. Those fields which did not even produce Maruā before the coming of the Kosi, yield bumper crops of paddy, Khesāri, moong and maize. The agricultural output of the village increases immensely. People enjoy an easy go-lucky life.”<sup>1</sup>

During a high flood almost all the villages of the worst affected zone of the Kosi area remain submerged under water. Water enters into the houses. People live on bamboo platforms constructed inside their houses. They improvise their own methods of cooking their food. While they sleep at night on those platforms, knee-deep and sometimes waist-high water passes beneath them. Fishes, snakes and other reptiles keep moving on the surface of water. A great alarm is raised when some stray crocodiles have been bagged by the villagers in their houses. The condition of the people under these circumstances can better be imagined than described. They suffer from all conceivable and inconceivable difficulties. They can move only on boats and wade through water. They cannot make any good arrangement for the storage of their food-grains. Much of the little they possess is wasted for lack of good arrangement of storage. I leave to the imagination of the readers to form their own idea of the plight of these people under some special circumstances, such as, the arrival of some guest or illness of some members of the family, or a case of delivery in the family and thousand and one such events of every-day occurrence.

The following lines give a graphic description of the condition of the above zone :

“With the end of monsoon in September, flood water begins receding and the process is complete and the villages become free from floods by the end of December. Contrary to expectations, how-

<sup>1</sup> *Searchlight*, March 31, 1946



ever, this receding is not at all welcomed; the sorrow-tales of disease and death are too horrible to contemplate. In June, with the first on-rush of flood water and the attendant troubles to which the inhabitants are put, there is at least one great re-deeming feature: all the dirt and filth and marshes are washed clean and the health of the area is surprisingly good in June and July. During these months fresh flowing water is always available for all purposes. But with the receding of flood, the villager has to fall back upon his half-choaked well or pond holding stagnant water. This in itself is sufficient to bring havoc on his health. But added to this is the fact that in all the innumerable water-logged ditches and marshes and fens and ponds which the receding flood leaves behind, in and round the villages, serve as excellent mosquito-breeding centres. The result is that malaria stalks the land and, almost invariably, grips the villagers in its clutches. Instances are not rare when a whole family or a whole village is laid up with some ailment or the other . . . and there is none to look after the dying persons or to take the dead to cremation ground. And this ghastly tragedy is repeated year after year and thousands are wiped out of existence."

"One very special feature of the area, at least of the worst affected parts, is the almost complete absence of children. It is a matter of common experience that ordinarily the women does not conceive and even when she does—the delivery is not normal and the issue comes early and dies soon after. For all these, to apportion responsibility between the reduced vitality of the people and the "Kosi air and water," is more than we can do; it may be a fit subject for research work by medical men and others and yield fruitful results. Recently, the present writer has had occasion to visit one of the worst affected villages, named Darah, (P. S. Madhepur) of this area when a few children, mostly male, had been born to the villagers after a gap of 7 to 8 years."

"The Health Officer (Darbhanga district) explained that this had been made possible only because of certain special experimental measures he had taken in the village to check the diseases and to keep the inhabitants otherwise fit.

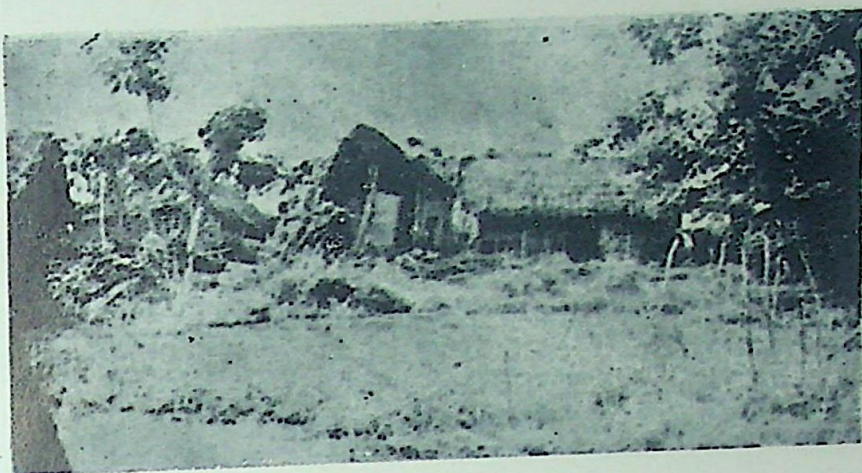
"In the areas that are permanently water-logged, buffaloes are the only means of subsistence. And yet, it is a cruel irony of fate that the water which is helpful in the breeding of disease-germs for human-beings is helpful for cattle epidemics too."

(2) *Post-Kosi area.*— It is 1585 sq. miles. in area and its total population is about 8,68,172.

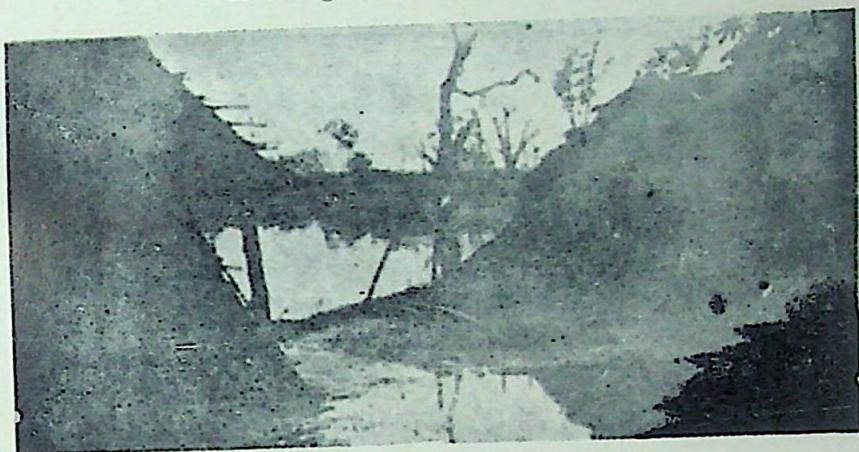
"There is a striking similarity between the effects produced on the fields and their yields by the going away of the river bed and its approach. With the silting up of the main bed and its westward swinging, only spilt-water visits the area and its slack current. These deposit layers of fine fertilising silt. Naturally, the fields

<sup>2</sup> *The Kosi Problem* by Hari Nath Misra.





Housing in Kośi affected area.



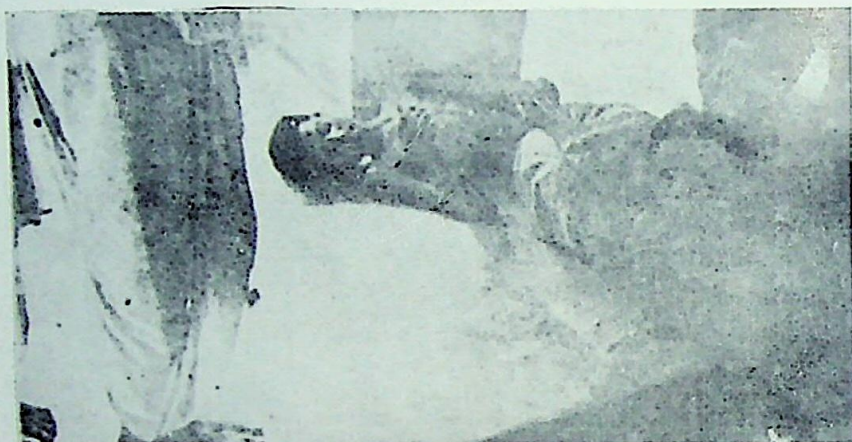
House in Kośi Area. (Another view)







People of Kośi.



A family in Kośi area.



Children of Kośi affected area.



that have not yet been covered with jungles, give bumper crops. But the phase lasts only a few years and gradually, with the going away of the river with the spilt-water and silt, the yield of a field falls rapidly. The soil-nitrogen is also exhausted. The result is more or less barrenness of the erstwhile fertile lands."

The place is dry but moderately malarious. This area is thinly populated as large number of people either died or fled away when this area was under the direct influence of the Kośī river. In case an irrigation scheme is started, the land can be brought under cultivation. Really the services of 'grow-more-food-campaign' can very well be utilised here.

*Climate.*—The climate of Mithilā varies as per topography. It tallies with that of Bengal to a great extent in the Kośī and post-Kośī areas which are damp, moist and highly malarious. In this area the humidity is high and the temperature is low—as such it is quite a suitable climate for the development and breeding of mosquitoes.

The climate of the Gangetic area is drier and not damp but here also the humidity is higher. This area is the healthiest area in Mithilā. The Tarai area is also damp and moist and reputed for malaria.

The General plain area has got a moderate climate and is mildly malarious. So on the whole the climate of Mithilā is hot and moist except in cold season (November to February) when the average temperature is 78°8'F. and the average humidity is 81.

Summer season lasts from March to June. The temperature then shoots up to 100°9'F and the humidity varies from 45 to 72.

The rainy season begins from the middle of June and lasts till October. The temperature then varies from 89°F to 92°F but the humidity shoots high to 81.

The average total rainfall is 2'77 inches ranging between 06 to 7'77 inches.



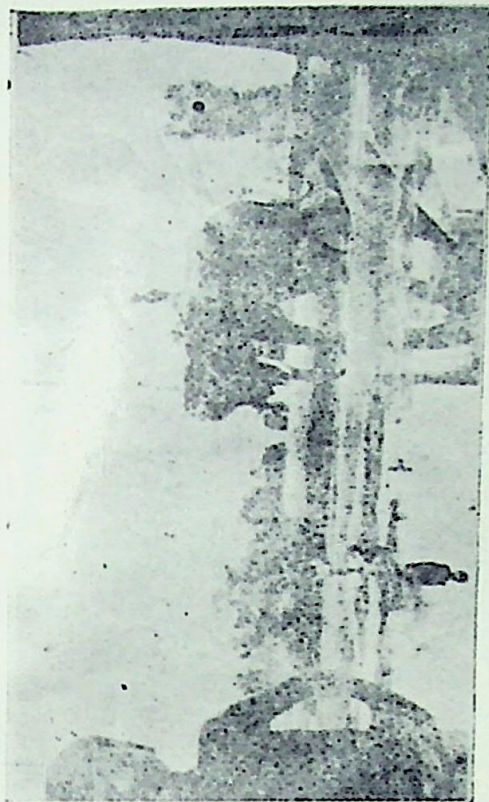
There is also rainfall in the winter season generally between February and March on account of the North East Trade wind.

The Sub-soil water is quite high. It ranges from 10 feet to 25 feet. This is another reason for easy Sub-soil pollution.

*Communication.*—The communication is very defective. There are mostly village-roads. The soil being alluvial and sandy the kutchra roads become a great nuisance of dust. There are only a few pucca roads. The maintenance of roads becomes difficult on account of large number of rivers which flood during the monsoons. Due to this the Bus-services are only confined to certain areas. So the communication becomes very difficult and a large number of villages are cut off during monsoon when elephants alone are used for the purpose. In the flood affected areas the boats are the only means of communications specially in the Kośī and the Kamalā affected areas. The villages then appear like dots in the vast sheet of water and it becomes a difficult task to go from one house to another without a boat. Even the call of nature is attended on boats. People usually live on 'machāns'.

*Irrigation.*—There is no system of irrigation in the area partly due to high moisture retaining power of the soil and partly due to the idleness of the people. People depend on monsoon rains and spilt water from the rivers during flood for cultivation. Since the violent earthquake of 1934 which affected a considerable part of Mithilā to a great extent and disturbed the level of the soil considerably, some parts are seldom free from floods which have converted a portion of land into jungles, marshy lands, small channels and streams. During draught the people use water from these channels for irrigating paddy crops by means of 'Karīn' (a log of wood about 12 to 15 long having a groove throughout its length).

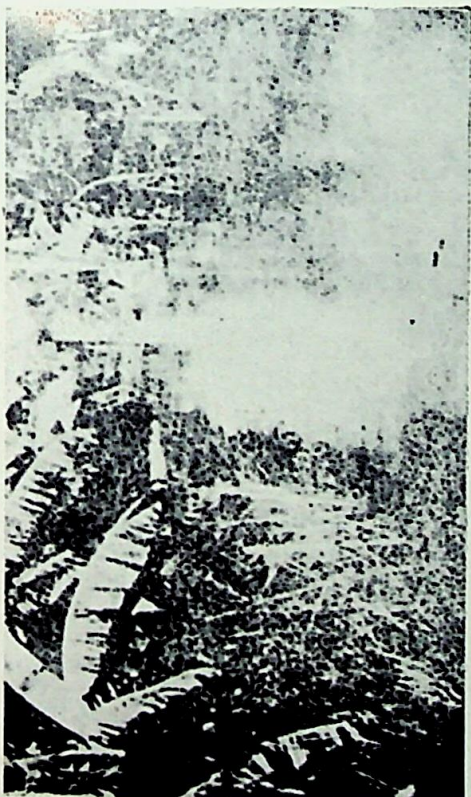




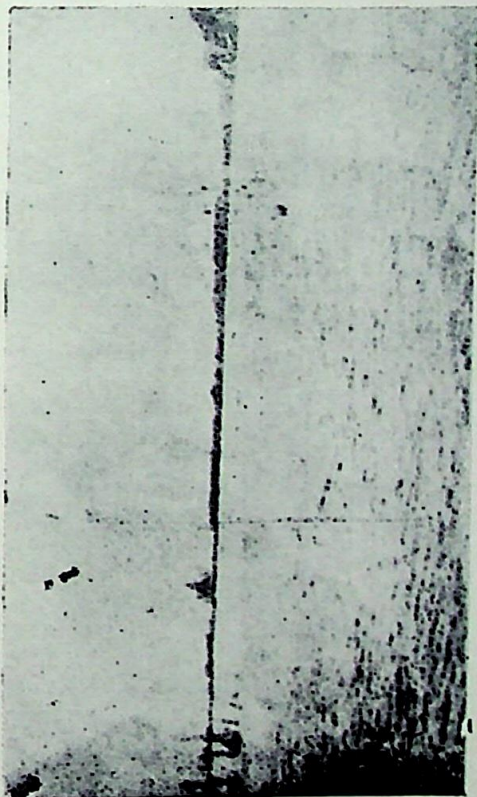
Conveyance of Kosi.



A tour in Kosi area.



A scene of Kosi area.



A part of River Kosi







*Housing and Planning.*—Most of the villages in Mithilā have different tolas for different communities. Generally, the tolas inhabited by Maithila Brāhmanas and other high class people are cleaner and have got better houses. People indiscriminately excavate earth for building houses and leave them as such. They are converted into insanitary ditches which become the potential breeding grounds for mosquitoes. These houses are generally surrounded by vegetation which is a great shelter for sand flies and mosquitoes which are the vectors of Kala-Azar and malaria respectively.

Only a few houses specially belonging to well-to-do persons have a compound and a kitchen-garden (called *bāḍī*) attached to them. Most of the houses are built on slightly raised lands for fear of flood and dampness. They are haphazardly built without any proper planning but these are not back to back houses as found mostly in South Bihar and specially in Northern India. On inspection and survey carried on in certain parts of Mithilā about 50% of the houses were found detached, 30% houses semi-detached and the rest compact and back to back. Houses are mostly made of mud and thatched with straw. Tiled roofs or pucca built houses are not commonly found. A typical Mithilā house is generally rectangular in shape consisting of 3 to 4 rooms grouped together on four sides having a courtyard in the centre. Each room is separated from the other room by some space which is fenced on the outer side.

New houses should be built according to new house planning in which provision for smoke, flues, and good drains should be made. The earth for building houses should be excavated from a common place which will be converted into a sanitary tank.

*Ventilation and light* —Very few houses are properly ventilated. The villagers do not provide windows partly



due to the fact that they do not realise their significance and partly due to the fear of thieves. On the whole, the rooms of the houses are dark, damp and ill-ventilated.

*Drainage.*—Most of the houses have kutchra open drains which end either in a Doba or in a Cess Pool. A few of them have blind drains as a result of which the houses remain generally damp.

*Kitchens.*—They are not generally situated separately. They are also used for sleeping and storing grains. They have no special outlet for smoke and as such the cooks (generally the housewives) suffer to a great extent.

*Animal Shed.*—Generally, there is special arrangement for Animal-shed separately in villages, though not in towns.

*Water-Supply.*—The main source of drinking water-supply are shallow dug wells. In some areas tank water is also used for drinking purposes. The water of the tanks and rivers is mostly used for bathing and domestic purposes.

The wells have no platforms or drains. They are usually kept in insanitary condition. The wells of the flood areas, specially those of the Kośī and Kamalā affected areas, are filled with flood water and silt during the monsoon. The level of the subsoil water is usually 15-30 ft. high. The soil being sandy and alluvial, the water of the shallow well is polluted easily by percolation of excreta. The tanks and dobhas are mostly insanitary and are usually situated close to the houses. Most of the house drains and cowshed drains directly fall into the tanks and dobhas. People generally defecate on the banks of the tanks which pollutes the tank during rainy season. There are several tanks in each village. These dobhas and tanks are usually filled with aquatic vegetations such as water hyacinth, lamina, Pistia and other aquatic weeds. They are the suitable breeding grounds for



the mosquitoes. On the whole, the water supply in Mithilā is very defective and unhygienic. This is one of the most important causes of intestinal diseases specially cholera which takes a heavy toll of lives every now and then.

In order to safeguard the people from bowel diseases specially cholera, typhoid, and dysentery, deep tube wells must be provided in every village. Occasional bacteriological examination of which is also desired.

*Disposal of cattle dung and refuses.*—Large number of houses have cattle. The cow dung and the house refuses are kept in heaps just near the houses. Cattle dung is generally transformed into cakes and is used for fuel. The habit of making cow-dung-cakes makes the person filthy and devoids the field of manure. The cow-dung-cakes burn in the houses but laughs when thrown in fields. The cattle dung refuse when kept in heaps becomes dry and is blown by the wind and poisons the water we drink, the food we eat and the air we breathe. Thus it ruins the health, sight and physique of ourselves and of our children but when kept in pits, it becomes a good manure and brings bumper crops.

*Disposal of human excreta.*—Only some rich persons have latrines which are not usually kept in sanitary condition. Rest of the people use the land specially the bank of rivers, tanks, bushes, gardens and roadside etc. for this purpose. This is the most important cause of soil and water pollutions. The Hook-worm eggs have a great chance of developing into larvae due to favourable humidity and temperature of the bushes, gardens etc., the soil of which is a suitable culture for them. The bare-footed persons specially the ladies who frequently visit these places become the victim of Hookworm disease. During the rainy season the excreta is partly washed and drained into adjacent tanks or rivers and partly percolates and pollutes the sub-soil water.



Bore-hole latrines specially in the poor areas will be of great use. Meantime the villagers may also be instructed to dig holes of about 6" to 8" deep and then pass stools and cover it. The ideal thing will be to provide with septic tanks or Wardha type of latrines.

*Habits and Customs.*—People of Mithilā are generally clean, hospitable, and gluttonous in habits. They are intelligent but lethargic. It is quite common to see even a poor and ill-clad man going to have a dip in the tank even on the chilly days. Majority of the people are non-vegetarian excepting the widows. Caste system is rigid, although it is being relaxed among highly educated and the nationalists. Usually no member of a caste may intermarry or eat or drink with persons of lower castes. The members of a lower caste (specially the untouchables) are not allowed to enter the houses of their higher class brethren. It is most rigidly followed in the Darbhanga district. The people of Mithilā think it a religious obligation to get their girls married off before the age of puberty (usually below 13 years). The Muhammadans follow their example and precepts. In the western countries, specially in America and Europe, marriage is a voluntary act usually contracted only when the parties concerned are healthy and able to support a family, but here it is generally performed by every one regardless of the fitness of the parties. This results in early motherhood, widowhood, etc. The father selects the bride or the bridegroom without consulting the party concerned. Endogamy (marriage within caste) and Exogamy (prohibiting marriage within one's own sect or gotra) are common. Maithila Brāhmaṇas are much more careful about the caste and the gotra etc. of the bride and the bridegroom, than about their wealth and education. Selection of bridegroom becomes very easy and unexpensive due to the prevalence of 'Sabhā' system where a large number of bridegrooms or their



guardians assemble at a particular place during the particular auspicious days of the year. One of the most famous places of such 'Sabhā' is Saurāṭha just near Madhubani in the Darbhanga district. Really it is worth seeing the bridegrooms of different ages with red dhotis and Pāgas (national head-dress). Thousands of marriage negotiations are settled within a short period of 3 to 4 days. The custom of marriage processions is very simple. People of the lower social status have to pay by way of social compensation to the bride and the bridegroom of higher status. There is no widow marriage and divorce among the higher caste but widow marriages and divorces are quite common among low caste Hindu and the Muhammadans. Polygamy is in fashion though it is decreasing day by day. The Maithila Brāhmaṇas spend lavishly on the Upanayana and the Śrāddha ceremonies. They do not hesitate even in taking loan for performing these ceremonies.

The people are generally addicted to take Bhānga and chewing of nut and betel specially in the higher communities. The lower class of people mostly chew tobacco. It would not be out of place to mention here that nut is consumed in the largest quantity in Mithilā. Chewing nuts has become a habit. One can seldom find even a boy of 10 years free from the habit.

Smoking of Hukkah is seldom seen. Toddv drinking is not much prevalent here.

On the whole the people of Mithilā are fond of eating and feeding. They take usually good food. Feast is usually common in villages. Sometimes the feast which is generally held on the occasion of a Śrāddha ceremony (after death) in the cholera affected villages becomes a source of infection. At times an epidemic has broken out in several villages simultaneously due to such feasts.

Sending of "Bhāras" (presents, such as sweetmeats and curd etc.) is very frequent. It is usually sent exposed



to dust and flies etc. This is also responsible for the spread of communicable diseases, such as cholera, typhoid and dysentery.

Melas are held very frequently even on ordinary occasions. Most of the melas have religious backgrounds. It is the hobby of the village folk to attend a mela even at the risk of their lives. It has been found that people have died in large numbers due to cholera in such fairs.

*Socio-economic condition.*—Most of the people are cultivators but per capita of the land is about one acre. A large number of people are unemployed. Family budget is not known but from enquiries it is learnt that most of the people live from hand to mouth. Their economic condition is very poor and is going from bad to worse due to floods and loss of man-power due to diseases specially malaria, Kala-Azar and Hookworm particularly in the Kośī, post-Kośī and Kamalā affected areas. There is an ample scope of work but due to ill health they are unable to do anything. It is sure that they cannot afford to purchase health.

The age-old superstitions, laws and customs of society not changing for centuries have a tightening grip on the people of Mithilā. Early marriage and early motherhood are common. The pressure of population on land which is practically the source of existence is increasing.

Mithilā is famous for Khadi and Handloom works but there is no other Cottage Industry on regular lines.

For improvement (i) Education should be popularised.  
(ii) Improvement in agriculture should be made,  
(iii) facilities for co-operative, marketing and development of Cottage Industries should be provided.

*Physique.*—Majority of the adult males achieve a weight ranging from 100 to 120 lbs. and a height from 55" to 65", whereas adult females have 70 to 110 lbs. and



50" to 60" respectively. The physique of Maithilas, on the whole, is poor on account of the following reasons :

1. *Race factor*.—Heredity plays a role though other factors very greatly modify its influence on physique both favourably and adversely according to circumstances. As there is no standard of weight and height for Maithila population, so it is difficult to judge exactly as to how far they compare, but there is no doubt that they fall short of normal.

2. *Nutrition Factor*.—This has already been discussed elsewhere. On the whole the masses suffer from mal-nutrition.

3. *Disease*.—Hook-worm and malaria serve to aggravate the influence of poor heritance and mal-nutrition.

4. *Economic Factor*.—There is no doubt that economic condition is low. So the purchasing power is low, nutrition is poor and there is ignorance and chance of falling easy prey to disease and thus a poor physique. In fact there is a vicious circle of the above facts.

*Occupation*.—Agriculture is the main occupation of the people. Land is fertile and has a high moisture retaining power. It has attracted a large number of foreigners who have settled in Mithilā and have engaged themselves in extensive as well as intensive farming. A great number of people of Mithilā have no employment due to their ill-health as they cannot stand physical labour. It is a seat of Khadi spinning and weaving in Bihar.

*Education*.—Modern Education is below the level of Bihar and India. Mithilā has very high reputation for her learning and culture in her earlier days. The first College in Mithilā was started in Darbhanga in the year 1936. But education on orthodox lines in traditional learning is very popular and its percentage is far above the average in Mithilā when compared with other parts of the country.



## II

*Diet and Nutrition*

The chief food of Mithilā consists of mainly boiled rice, pulse, vegetables, fish and curd etc. People are very fond of taking cūḍā (flatten rice) and dahī (curd). Poor people use Keshārī, Maḍuā and sweet potatoes chiefly.

*Rice.*—Rice is a chief diet in a country like Japan and Burma where it has not any bad effect on the health of people, but it has affected the health of the people of Mithilā due to its misuse on account of ignorance.

The high class people specially the widows, usually take Āraba rice (Ātapa-rice) on religious grounds. It has infiltrated to the lower class of people also. It has been proved scientifically that Āraba rice (Ātapa-rice) is less nutritive than parboiled rice. The reason is that before husking, the paddy is parboiled and then dried and husked. During the process of boiling the vitamins and minerals which are mostly found in the peri-crap (outer coating) diffuse inside. They are retained even after husking.

*Milling of rice.*—Mithilā has large number of rice mills. People in town consume milled rice in a large quantity. Milling of rice devoids it mostly of the vitamins and minerals which are found in the peri-crap (outer coating) of the rice. In villages they do not take milled rice.

*Method of cooking.*—Before cooking rice, it is washed very thoroughly. A portion of vitamins is washed out during this process. After the rice is ready, the rice-water (Māṇḍa) is taken out and thrown. Thus we take cooked rice which contains chiefly starch (carbo-hydrate) and lose the important substances such as minerals and vitamins.

*Cūḍā (flatten rice).*—This is quite staple food. It retains the nutritive value of the rice. It has been found that people who take cūḍā keep fitter.



*Milk* is produced in large quantity here; but in villages situated near towns it is mostly exported to other places outside the area in the form of cream and ghee. It is not possible to stop this practice on account of the economic reasons.

*Fish*.—It is found in abundance in Kośi and Kamalā affected areas. There are large number of tanks but they are mostly filled with aquatic vegetations and this makes the Pisciculture difficult. It will be a great boon to the people if systematic Pisciculture is started in the villages. This can serve in double ways—antilarvae which can control the mosquitoes and can provide enough of fish which can improve the economic condition also.

*Vegetables*.—Leafy vegetables are consumed in fair amount specially among female folk and this provides sufficient minerals and vitamins. But it should be used more liberally.

*Oil*.—Mostly mustard oil is used. It is devoid of vitamins. Rich persons use ghee also.

Only some high class people of Mithilā take balanced diet. In a diet survey done in Mithilā the following defects were revealed :

1. Diet falls short in about 25% with respect to caloric requirements as based on the League of Nations Standard for Phillipine Island the conditions of which are more or less identical with Mithilā.
2. Proteins.—Mostly of animal origin are deficient to an extent of 30%.
3. Fats are deficient in about 75% of cases. Whatever fat is consumed is taken largely as mustard oil. This also accounts for the gross deficiency of Vitamin A. As said before milk is exported in the form of cream and ghee.



Considering the defects and the degrees prevalent in population it is easy to account for the mal-nutrition which is responsible for anaemia and several other defects.

## III

*Vital Statistics*

Reports of vital statistics are done by the Chowkidars of the villages on parade days when they attend their respective Thanas. This system although it prevails in every part of India remains defective. The diagnosis is also done by these illiterate fellows. The reporting becomes very defective in the Flood affected areas. Registrations and compilations are done by the Thana Officer who sends a copy to the Sub-Division Officer and the Civil Surgeon and thus there is enough delay. Verification of the vital statistics is done by the Health Staff.

TABLE I

*Comparative Vital Statistics for the year 1937,  
(India—Bihar (Mithilā) and Selected Countries)*

Name of Countries :—	Death-rate per 1,000 Population :—	Birth-rate per 1,000 Population :—	Infant Mortality per, 1,000 Birth :—	Average Life
India ...	22.4	34.5	162	
Bihar (Mithilā) ...	2.2	33	120	
Australia ...	9.4	17.4	38	
U. S. A. ...	11.2	17.0	54	
England -				
Wales, ...	12.4	14.9	58	
Ceylon ...	21.7	37.8	158	
Java ...	18.8	28.3		
Japan ...	17.0	30.6	106	
New-Zealand.	9.1		31	

(From the Health of India by John B. Grant.)

From the above table it is clear that India compares unfavourably with other countries regarding crude death-rate, Infant mortality rate and average life. The Birth-rate is no-doubt very high. But the Infant mortality rate



is the highest. Bihar, specially Mithilā, cannot be free from these.

TABLE II

*Death Rates for Small-pox and Cholera in Asiatic Countries.  
(Mortality rate per 100,000 Population)*

	British India.	Burma.	Japan.	Philippines.	French Indo-China.	Netherlands East-Indies.	Thailand (Siam).
<i>Small-pox.</i>							
1928	28.5	19.3	0.1	*	1.6	10.0	0.2
1929	21.6	12.6	0.02	*	7.3	69.0	0.5
1930	21.5	4.4	0.006	*	7.8	85.0	0.1
1931	11.0	3.3	0.001	0.007	2.4	8.0	0.04
1932	13.3	16.9	0.06	0.0	6.7	2.0	0.03
1933	30.7	10.3	0.08	0.0	4.4	0.0	0.1
1934	24.8	10.9	0.05	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.2
1935	26.5	8.6	0.02	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.03
1936	30.6	9.2	0.04	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0
1937	19.2	9.3	0.008	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.08
<i>Cholera.</i>							
1928	100	49	0.001	0.1	21.3	0.002	9.5
1929	84	54	0.2	0.0	17.0	0.0	14.4
1930	107	41	0.0	*	*	0.0	0.6
1931	65.4	3.6	0.0	5.8	6.8	0.0	0.1
1932	19.9	7.4	0.001	3.3	1.6	0.0	0.1
1933	20.2	0.2	0.0	13.4	0.8	0.0	0.2
1934	59.1	5.6	0.0	4.7	0.4	0.0	0.04
1935	62.2	46.6	0.0	0.02	0.4	*	6.3
1936	47.1	6.7	0.0	0.01	0.3	*	21.6
1937	29.3	23.7	0.01	0.01	38.3	*	41.1

\* Figures not available.

(From the Health of India by John B. Grand).

From the above table it is evident that diseases like Small-pox and Cholera are mostly prevalent in India. Countries like Philippines and Netherlands having the



same socio-economic conditions have done away with them in these days.

TABLE III  
*Death from Cholera in Bihar by months in 1944.*

Months	No. of deaths	Remarks
January ..	1811	In spite of the fact that the reporting is not satisfactory, the death-rate due to Cholera alone is very high. Badly affected Cholera areas were North Bihar specially-Mithilā.
February ...	1198	
March ...	1116	
April ...	1703	
May ...	8,352	
June ...	18,225	
July ...	16,776	
August ...	12,170	
September ...	10,513	
October ...	7,124	
November ...	6,478	
December ...	485	
Total ...	85,951	

(From Indian Health Gazette by Lt. Col. C. A. Bozam I.M.S., 1945).

TABLE IV  
*Average Deaths due to Fever, Cholera, Small-pox and Plague for the years 1938 to 1942.*

Names of Provinces	Fever	Cholera	Small-pox	Plague
N. W. F. P. ...	42,152	427	600	*
Punjab ...	4,94,482	1,422	3,217	*
U. P. ...	8,49,873	36,931	9,624	11,962
Bihar ...	5,55,936	25,623	10,427	1,009
Orissa ...	1,03,203	6,915	4,541	*
Assam ...	97,796	7,654	1,177	*
Bengal ...	7,48,102	53,274	7,991	!
C. P. ...	3,07,619	17,461	1,947	533
Bombay ...	1,79,451	6,823	5,635	2,648
Sind ...	29,298	745	578	*
Madras ...	2,96,248	15,935	3,174	1,038

(From Indian Health Gazette by Lt. Col. C. A. Bozam, I.M.S. 1944).



The above table shows that Small-pox is highest in Bihar. Bihar stands third in Fever and Cholera. The worst Malaria and Cholera affected areas of Bihar lie specially in Mithilā.

The vital statistics given above reflect that the preventable diseases, such as Cholera, Small-pox and Malaria, are widely spread. There are no available records about Hook-worms and Dysentery, but they are more common. On the whole the level of Health in Bihar specially in Mithilā is low.

The causes of low health of Mithilā are described below:—

1. Climatic Factor.
2. Bad Socio-economic condition—wealth is distributed among a few persons only. On account of the poverty of the masses the standard of living is low. There is no social or economical machinery to level it up.
3. Lack of general and health education:—Education is limited to the upper classes mostly. It is poor in quality also. People are ignorant of the fundamental principles of Health and Hygiene. Teaching of Hygiene is compulsory up to the middle standard but this is mostly to pass the examinations. Instructions should be given on practical lines in mother tongue.
4. Lack of well organised medical and Public Health services for prevention, early diagnosis and early treatment of diseases.

Besides the above there are mal-nutrition, bad-housing, lack of proper water-supply and conservancy, lack of co-operation among the people and the Public Health staffs, bad communications etc.



## IV

*Prevalence of Diseases*

These days Mithilā has become the abode of epidemics. The general health of people has deteriorated to a great extent due to mal-nutrition, bad climatic effects and bad sanitation. Due to these factors they become an easy prey to the diseases like malaria, Hookworm etc. which are prevalent in some parts of Mithilā in epidemic form. The most prevalent diseases are Cholera, Malaria, Kala-Azar, Typhoid, Dysentery, Small-pox and skin diseases, specially Scabies. In some parts Plague also visits now and then.

1. *Malaria*.—Malaria is caused by the bite of a particular infected mosquito, the anopheles. The reservoir of infective organisms is the man who has suffered from the disease but has not been cured fully. If an anopheles mosquito bite such a man, it becomes infected itself and then after a period of 8-10 days if it bites a healthy man, he is infected with the germs of malaria.

For the death rate due to fever see the graphs given before.

*History*.—It is difficult to say whether this disease was prevalent in Mithilā before the 19th century or not, but it is a fact that in the books of indigenous system on medicines Śitajwara has been frequently mentioned. From the writings of travellers, such as Huen-Thiasang, 4th century A.D., Burmier. (1666) and Rennel (1760), it is quite evident that the disease did not exist at that time in such a form. But from other records it appears that malaria did appear in epidemic form in the middle of the last century and since then it has become endemic which breaks out frequently in epidemic form.

Mithilā has got the reputation of being malarious. In the malaria-map of India prepared by the Malaria Institute of India, 1929, Bihar is shown as an area having



malaria with moderate to high endemicity of more or less static character, the intensity depending on local surroundings, seasonal variations, moderate fulminant-epidemics as such there is no wonder if Mithilā which forms a part of Bihar should share such characteristics regarding malaria endemicity.

*Present condition.*—It is admitted by all the entomologists that a considerable percentage of death registered under the head "fever", at least 40 to 50% if not more, is due to malaria and such a death rate due to fever is an index to the amount of malaria prevailing in the area. Sickness of malaria is not being recorded either by the police or any other organisation but the increase in the disease is judged by the increase in treatment i.e., opening centres for treatments. A large number of patients escapes treatment. It is difficult to estimate but one may say roughly that 6 to 8 millions of cases of malaria are treated every year.

*Malaria and economic loss.*—Malaria has deteriorated the physique of the people. In the Kośī affected area where malaria is highly endemic, it has made the people punny, less virile and impotent. The sickness rate due to malaria alone has become quite high and as such the tillers of the soil cannot cultivate their lands. During their illness they have to spend money in their treatment and diet and thus they become poor. They cannot afford to take nutritious diet and thus they get frequent relapses of malaria and become easy prey to other diseases. Thus a vicious circle of illness and bad economic condition goes on. It is because of this that persons from other parts of Bihar have taken advantages of the poverty and idleness of the people in purchasing lands and settling themselves in Mithilā.

There is another special feature in the worst Kośī affected area and that is the complete absence of children



in several villages. The ladies conceive but abort frequently. Children are seldom born, and if they are born, they die within a few months. This is mostly due to malaria and mal-nutrition. Its other causes require further investigation. It has also been found that by improving the nutrition of these people and the treatment of malaria, children have been born in some of the villages during the last three or four years and that they are alive mostly.

*Causes of malaria.*—The causes may be divided into (i) man made and (ii) natural causes.

(i) Man made :—

(a) *Excavation of a large number of tanks and dobas* which are frequently kept in insanitary condition and are filled with aquatic vegetations,—some of the villages of the Darbhanga district have more than twenty tanks. These are the remnants of Mithilā when it was a place of abundance and luxury. People thought that the excavation of a new tank for the purpose of irrigation and bathing etc. was a part of their religious duty, so there are so many tanks in a village in Mithilā. Unfortunately, the economic condition and general physique have deteriorated and so these tanks are kept unclean and thus they have become source of mosquito breeding and intestinal diseases.

(b). *Construction of roads and railways with its alignment and borrow-pits.*—It is quite evident from the records that the construction of railways is also responsible for bringing Malaria in Mithilā. When we pass by rail, we notice a large number of borrow-pits along the side of the Railway lines. They are again the sources of breeding of mosquitoes. The borrow-pits on both the side of roads are also places of mosquito breeding.

(c) *Embankments.*—Marginal or cross embankments are usually put in order to protect the villages from the



floods. But this is dangerous and harmful. Flood brings silt laden water and washes out the dirt. The bunds are also put for irrigation and catching of fishes. They help in the stagnation of water. All these help breeding of mosquitoes.

(d) *Indiscriminate killing of fishes.*—Fishes eat up the mosquito larvæ and keep down the mosquito. It is very essential to popularise systematic pisciculture. In Mithilā this can be done easily but the land-lords do not care and the poor tenants are ignorant.

(e) *Paddy, wild grass (Kharha) and jute cultivation.*—Mithilā is famous for paddy crops. Jute is also grown in sufficient quantity. These are local crops and have water which is a source of the breeding of mosquitoes.

(f) *Lack of proper knowledge regarding the causes of Malaria among the mass and also the educated persons:*—The masses are ignorant and they do not appreciate the harm they are doing themselves by digging dobas and killing indiscriminately the fishes etc. Suitable legislation and its application will be of great help but self help cannot be ignored.

(ii) Natural causes :—

(a) *Waterhyacinth.*—It has spread in the whole of Mithilā. It has covered the tanks, Khals and Kośī flooded areas and has damaged crops, destroyed bridges and have turned them into breeding grounds of mosquitoes.

(b) *Changing of the route of rivers.*—The river Kośī is reputed for rapidly changing its courses so very often. It has got several channels which have become shallower and serve for the breeding of mosquitoes. It has also converted a considerable proportion of land into jungles and thick vegetations which are helpful for the shelter and development of mosquitoes.

(c) *Economic condition.*—The incidence of malaria is closely connected with the economic condition of the



country. In a way, Mithilā is a poor province. Its people cannot afford at present to spend much for their protection against the attack of this disease and also for the cleaning of the surroundings which help the spread of the disease. We know that during the recent war, people suffered a good deal from famine and mal-nutrition which resulted in epidemic of Malaria and killed a large number of persons. The severe epidemic of malaria during the year 1944 in Mithilā is still fresh in our memory. It has swept away thousands of persons.

(d) *Climatic conditions*.—Rainfall, humidity and temperature are also favourable for the development and prolongation of the life of mosquitoes.

The control of malaria is done in two ways :—(a) Temporary measure and (b) Permanent measure. (a) Temporary measure consists of epidemic measures, propaganda and Health education, while (b) the Permanent measure consists of stopping creation of the breeding grounds of mosquitoes and the repairing of the damage done before during the last earthquake. But this requires money and suitable men.

2. *Cholera*.—It is a highly infectious disease prevalent in India but chiefly in Bengal, Madras and Bihar (more common in Mithilā). It is caused by bacilli carried by water, food, flies, and fingers etc. A man is infected when he takes infected food or water. This disease has been controlled fully in the western countries, but it kills thousands of people here in Mithilā every year.

*History*.—The Gangetic plain is the home of cholera and so it is called Asiatic cholera. There is no clear cut historical record regarding this disease before 1438. Epidemic of cholera started in Bihar and Bengal in 1817 and spread in many countries, such as China, Ceylon, East Africa, Iran, Australia, Russia and America etc. Cholera has been described as the best friend of the Public Depart-



ment in England as well in India. The cause is that it creates panic among the layman and takes a heavy toll of lives without delay. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention the great epidemic of cholera in Mithilā in the year 1930. It spread from North Bihar (Mithilā) to other parts of India. This became a subject for the League of Nations Health Organizations to take up and drew the attention of the Indian representatives at a meeting of the office, Internationale d' Hygiene Publique in 1930. Cholera again broke out in virulent form in North Bihar specially in Mithilā in the year 1944 in which more than half a lac of people died in Mithilā alone. It drew the attention of the world and created a great panic but it has helped the Public Health Department to a great extent.

From the vital statistics given it is proved that cholera has become endemic in Mithilā. Endemically it varies with localities. In some parts of Mithilā specially in Darbhanga district cholera breaks out twice a year. Large number of cases occurs from March to October and then from December to February. Cholera has got a regular periodicity of about six years. More cases of cholera occur among the poor people. Mortality is high only in the cases left without any treatment.

So far investigated the chief causes of cholera in Mithilā may be classified into (i) General and (ii) Local.

(i) *General causes* :—

- (a) Lack of knowledge of the fundamental principles of hygiene. This is wanting even among the educated people. Teaching of Hygiene, no doubt, is compulsory in lower classes but only theoretically.

- (b) Lack of co-operation of the masses.



(c) Bad Socio-economic condition.

(d) Bad communication.

(ii) *Special causes* :—

(a) Lack of proper and safe drinking water supply. The main source of water supply in Mithilā, as said before is the shallow, insanitary dug wells. But in some villages there are no wells and in several villages well dry up during summer.

(b) Lack of proper isolation.

(c) Lack of resistance among the mass due to malnutrition.

(d) Infection is generally brought from or carried to the fairs which are held very frequently in various parts of the province.

(e) At places people throw dead bodies of those who have died of cholera and other infectious diseases in the rivers which form the source of water supply. Washing of the contaminated clothes with vomits and excreta of the patients in the tanks or on the wells is quite frequent. Thus the source of water supply is easily infected.

(f) The feasts and the exposed Bhāras in the cholera affected villages also play a great part in the spread of the disease.

(g) Due to insanitary conditions of villages the fly population has increased. They are also mechanical carrier of the disease from one place to another.

(h) When cholera breaks out in a village in epidemic form, people run away to other villages. They carry the infection.



Cholera can be wiped out by provision of safe drinking water-supply, previous inoculation and education of the masses.

3. *Hook-worm*.—Hook-worm is one of the most commonly prevalent diseases of Mithilā. It has affected the health and vitality of lacs of people living in Mithilā. It has made the people idle, anaemic and has crippled agriculture, handicapped the progress of the nation and thus it has created a great economic disadvantage.

When a Hook-worm survey was done in the district of Darbhanga, it was discovered that about 80% of people suffered from the infection. In spite of such a high incidence of Hook-worm the symptoms of Hook-worm are not manifested in large number of cases. The high incidence of Hook-worm infection along with Malaria and mal-nutrition accounts for the large number of people suffering from anaemia.

Persons harbouring Hook-worms pass a large number of their eggs in stools. These eggs develop into infective larvae under the favourable conditions of humidity, rainfall and low temperature. The soil of such places which is commonly used for defecation by the carriers of Hook-worm remains grossly infested with the larvae. They infect the persons who happen to pass there barefooted. They pierce the skin and then pass along until finally they reach the intestine. There they bite and suck out the blood and thus they make people anaemic.

The causes of high incidence of Hook-worm in Mithilā are as follows:—

- (a) People usually defecate in the open fields specially in the bushes, on the banks of the rivers and tanks. These places under the favourable meteorological conditions which are quite suitable for the development of Hook-worm eggs into larvae become a great



source of infection. When persons usually bare-footed go there for any work, they become victims to this disease.

- (b) The soil is usually sandy, alluvial and porous. This type of soil is very helpful for its development.
- (c) 85% of the people of Mithilā are agriculturists and so they have to work in the fields. Due to economic and other conditions most of them do not wear shoes. These conditions also help in the infection of the disease.

The prevention and cure of Hook-worm is comparatively simple. Prevention consists in simple sanitary arrangement, such as proper disposal of human excreta which will prevent the soil and water pollution. The construction of bore-hole latrines which is quite cheap and easy may serve the purpose to a great extent but before doing this we have to fight ignorance, apathy, poverty and general cleanliness. The suppression of the disease which is so widely spread and enormous requires social and economic uplift of the nation, the education of millions of people, changing of their daily habits and a close co-operation among the health authorities, the mass, the medical personnel and philanthropic agencies.

4. *Dysentery*.—A very common form of dysentery caused by the anéeba has been very common throughout Mithilā. The other type of dysentery known as Bacillary dysentery is not less common. These diseases are carried by germs which contaminate food and drinks. These germs are found in the stools of persons having the disease either in dominant or latent forms. Rain waters carry the faecal matter into the wells, tanks or streams. Thus the water is polluted and becomes a source of infection. Persons who use such water get the infection. This also plays an important part in the spread of this disease. The im-



provement of primitive environmental sanitation, such as water-supply, conservancy and general sanitation etc. will drive out the disease.

5. *Typhoid*.—It is an acute fever of long duration lasting for three weeks or more. This disease also spreads in epidemic form in Mithilā. It affects both rich and poor, strong and weak alike. The epidemic occurs in warm weather. Morbidity and mortality are not notified. The incidence increases in early age. The prevention lies in the improvement of the sanitary condition.

*Carrier*.—The carrier is a person who harbours the disease germs but does not manifest symptoms, that is, the carrier himself or herself does not suffer from the disease but becomes a reservoir of infection. Carriers of typhoid, dysentery and hook-worm are found in abundance in Mithilā. The carriers when employed as cooks or servants spread the disease. In this connection it will not be out of place to mention that a large number of cooks and servants go to other parts of Bihar and Bengal and are employed in handling food and drinks and they carry these germs.

6. *Small-pox*.—It is an air-borne disease caused by virus. It affects all ages, both sexes, poor and rich alike. It visits in an epidemic form at an interval of 5 years and causes large number of deaths and disfigurements. This disease is mostly prevalent in the eastern countries, especially China and India. It has practically disappeared in the western countries which is quite evident from the vital statistics given above. A country like Java having the same socio-economic conditions as Mithilā has done away with the disease by regular vaccination and re-vaccination of the masses.

7. *Plague*.—It is an acute febrile disease usually attended by swelling of the lymphatic glands of the groin caused by the bite of the infected rat-flea. This is really



a disease of rat. "No rat, no plague" is a fact. Later on, this disease spreads among men.

*History.*—Plague is a disease of great antiquity although the disease is very old for Asia, but no records are available. In India plague is mostly prevalent in Bihar. Mithilā is not free from it. The epidemic of plague is now practically confined to Northern Monghyr, Bhagalpur and a part of Darbhanga.

Temperature and humidity play a great part in the spread of plague. High humidity and low temperature favour the life process of fleas, which are quite fitting to Mithilā. Plague generally breaks out in winter season.

The other conditions which are suitable for the spread of Plague in Mithilā are as follows :—

- (1) Type of housing, made of mud and thatched with straw and surrounded by fields, give shelter to rats.
- (2) Food and drinks are kept haphazardly and exposed. The rats get food and multiply rapidly.
- (3) People do not generally kill rats on religious grounds.
- (4) Suitable meteorological conditions as described above.
- (5) Predominance of *X. Cheopis* over *X. Astia* (types of rat flea).
- (6) Customs and habits of the people such as holding of "Hāṭas" (fairs) where grains are usually sold. Grains of infected areas may carry infected rat fleas.
- (7) Mass ignorance.

Plague does not usually break out in the Kośī and the Kamalā affected areas which are highly flooded. Once



plague occurs in a particular area it becomes a difficult task to eradicate it.

8. *Kala-azar*.—It is a fever of long duration and is caused by the organisms which are transmitted from an infected man to a healthy one by the bite of an insect known as sand-fly. This disease is mostly found in Mithilā in Bihar. The cause of high incidence of this disease is due to the vegetations surrounding the houses which give shelter to the sand-fly.

9. *Lathyrism*.—This is a disease which affects the nerves (spinal cord) and causes lameness. This is due to the consumption of “Khesārī” grain as the chief diet in the form of bread, “sātu”, pulse etc. In some parts of Mithilā specially where “Khesārī” grows in large quantity, lathyrism breaks out in epidemic form. In the year 1947, the writer happened to examine 140 cases of this disease in a day in Bahera P. S. of the district of Darbhanga, where it had broken out in epidemic form. The treatment is difficult and not very effective. Prevention lies in stopping the production and consumption of ‘Khesārī’.

## V

### *Maternity and Child-Welfare :—*

The activities of the maternity and child-welfare work are confined to the district head-quarters: The following facts have been published in the report on Maternity and Child-Welfare work by a special committee of experts in India, about Bihar during 1938 :

“It was only in 1923, ten years after the creation of the Province that the first move was made. In that year on the advice of the I.G.C.H. the provincial Government started a maternity scheme in Patna, the staff consisting of a maternity supervisor and six midwives. Each midwife was given a definite area in which she had to work and she attended all normal labour cases.”

In 1925 Lady Wheeler initiated, “The Bihar-Orissa Child Welfare Fund” which began work by maintaining two child welfare centres at Gulzarbagh and Patna by



holding baby weeks. In 1928, the Bihar and Orissa Maternity and Child-Welfare Society was established which started centres in the important towns of the Province and functioned under the guidance and provision of the Provincial Society.

There is no provision for the work of the Maternity and Child welfare works in the rural areas of Mithilā. For this reason it is difficult to estimate correctly the maternal and infant mortality in villages owing to incorrect registration of the Vital Statistics.

There are various reasons for the negligence of the service. The delivery is done generally by the low class women such as the "camains". The reason is that among the Hindus the confinement is regarded as a physical pollution. This has got a great bearing on the solution of the maternity problem in India. Thus the professional midwives of the country are from time immemorial from amongst the lowest castes because confinements are considered unclean and the confined women as sources of pollution to others coming with them. The confinement is generally done in an insanitary labour room. This is the cause of large number of deaths of children due to, 'Tetanus' and other diseases during the first week of life.

In England and Australia etc. the maternity and child-welfare scheme is run on the co-operation basis. the villages contribute for the nurses' salary. But it is not possible for the villages of Mithilā to do so owing to poverty and lack of modern outlook. But the work of maternity and child-welfare is a national responsibility which should be shared by the State, Local bodies and people.

There is no doubt that ladies belonging to the higher castes will not like to take up this job. But the problem cannot be left aside. The best thing is to train the indigenous "camains".



## VI

*Infant Mortality*

The most important causes of Infant mortality are :

- (1) Tetanus.
- (2) Prematurity.
- (3) Respiratory diseases like Pneumonia etc.
- (4) Infective diseases—Small-pox etc.
- (5) Wrong feeding and other bowel disorders.
- (6) Malnutrition and starvation.

50% of the deaths occur under one month of life and 60% of these in the first week which is largely influenced by pre-natal causes.

The infant mortality rate can be reduced by the education of the mothers, producing trained "camains" and improving the socio-economic conditions of the man.

## VII

*Medical and Public Health Facilities*

*Medical.*—There are about 100 dispensaries in the rural areas set up by the District Boards. The medical officer-in-charge of the dispensaries attend cases in the morning and evening hours. In most of the dispensaries there is no arrangement for indoor beds. The medical officers are under the control of the Chairman of the District Board and the Civil Surgeon of the district. The Health Officer has no control over them but they are supposed to attend the epidemic-affected villages during the absence of the Public Health Staff, for inoculation and disinfection works, within a radius of 5 miles. Besides the District Board dispensaries, there are Government hospitals in the district and sub-divisional head-quarters where there are arrangements for indoor patients. There is one Medical College at Darbhanga having several specialists.



*Public Health.*—The attention of the Government has been drawn much towards the Public Health for the last three years. The Public Health facilities have been tremendously increased during this period although they are not in keeping with the progress of Science. *The Bihar Public Health Bill* of 1947, on the lines of *Madras Consolidated Public Health Act 1939*, is under the consideration of the Government.

The present Public Health organisation is decentralised partly by the Government and mainly by the District Boards. The District Health Officer is a Government servant of Provincial Public Health Cadre but his subordinates, such as Assistant Health Officers, Health Inspectors etc., are servants of the Board. Usually Public Health Staff in a district consists of:—

1. District Health Officer with his office staff.
2. Assistant Health Officer for each sub-division.
3. Health Inspector for a population of about a lac.
4. Disinfectors with each Health Inspector.
5. Licensed vaccinator with assistant for about 25,000 people.

Besides these Epidemic Doctors, Health Assistants and temporary Health Inspectors are deputed by the Director of Public Health, Bihar and also are appointed by the Board for assisting the permanent staff in combating epidemics whenever required. Medicines such as Quinine, Quinine substitutes, Kala Azar drugs, Anti-cholera, Typhoid and Plague vaccines, vaccine lymph etc., Sulphaguanidine, Cholera powder, Thiazamide etc. are supplied in sufficient quantity by the D.P.H., Bihar, for free distribution in the rural areas.

Special anti-plague, anti-Kala Azar and malaria schemes have been functioning in the areas where their



services are needed. In anti-plague scheme, cyno-gasing, disinfecting the evacuated houses, distribution of Bariuar carbonate pills, treatment of cases with Thiazamide etc., mass anti-plague inoculation, health education etc. are usually done free of cost. Each gang of workers is given about 6 villages.

The anti-malaria and Kala Azar centres treat cases of Kala Azar, Hook-worm, Dysentery-scabbies, Cholera etc. Each centre is under a qualified medical officer with his assistants. The medical officer attends 2 sub-centres besides the main centre twice a week. The anti-mosquito work is also done in many of the centres.

In the Kośī and the Post-Kośī-affected areas temporary hospitals have been started under an Assistant Surgeon. More detailed schemes for efficient medicine and Public Health facilities within the areas are under the consideration of the Government of Bihar.

Village Health committees have been organised in large number of villages. In the district of Darbhanga alone about 200 such committees are functioning. Each village Health Committee has got medicines for Malaria, Cholera etc., with written instructions for the distribution of medicines.

The brighter village scheme has also been working in several villages. Construction of Bore-hole latrines, importance of sanitation and health education are being done as per this scheme.

There is no doubt that Public Health has been improved much after 1944, the year of the greatest epidemic of Cholera in North Bihar. The public have been stimulated and awakened on matters of Public Health and have realised its significance. But even then the present organisation serves the purpose but does not meet the demand of the public.



The combination of Medical and Public Health and the creation of a post for a whole-time teacher of Hygiene in the Medical College are desired. Teaching of hygiene should be graded, practical and compulsory, up to the matriculation standard.

*School Health.*—There should be a compulsory Medical inspection of school children. Some suitable provision for the correction of defects should be made. Health education and its practice in the school is very essential.

## VIII

### *Conclusion*

To solve the problem of the areas of Mithilā the chain of the vicious circle—ill-health, unemployment, bad-nutrition and anxiety—must be broken. But this problem cannot be solved only by the Public Health measures alone. The physical, social, and educational sides are also to be very much improved.

Secondly, the economic condition must be raised by improving the method of cultivation, development of indigenous Cottage Industries etc. A close co-ordination of all these departments is desired for achieving the end.

To gain the public opinion and have their co-operation voluntary organisation could be started. It should be supervised technically. For gaining health self-help is much better, cheaper and long lasting than the purchase of health. People are to be led and not to be driven away.

For a province like Mithilā, a suitable legislation and its enforcement is absolutely essential. For this a consolidated Public Health Act like the Madras Act of 1939 is desirable. The Bihar Public Health Bill of 1947 is under the consideration of the Government of Bihar



where all these problems regarding Mithilā should have much better consideration.

If efforts on the above lines are made, Mithilā once a place of health and wealth can distinguish itself not only in Bihar but in the whole of India.



## OBITUARY

THE RT. HON'BLE DR. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

IN the passing away of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru the country has lost its leading statesman, jurist, and lawyer. He was a great scholar of English, Persian, and Urdu. His contribution to India's constitution will long be remembered. He was held in the highest esteem even by those who differed from him, for his stainless character and his selfless devotion to the best interests of the country. In spite of an exceedingly busy professional life, he retained a lively interest in literature, history, and politics. The *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* has special reason to lament his death. He was its founder-President and rendered it signal service. Whilst he was in good health, he regularly presided over its meetings and his advice was always available, even during the months spent on the sick-bed. Tributes to him have been paid by many persons; some have spoken of his greatness as an advocate; some have referred to his vast learning; others have enumerated the many occasions when his sage counsel has been sought by different groups of politicians; all have mourned the end of a man who had hardly an enemy.

He was the most eminent lawyer of this generation. He was honoured by the Universities of Oxford, Allahabad, Patna, Banaras, and Hyderabad. He was honoured by the King and by Mahatma Gandhi. He was a successful peacemaker. He was the President of the *Hindustani Academy*; Chief Scout Commissioner of India; President of the *Allahabad Anjuman Roobe Adab*. He was a scholar and a friend of scholars. He was a humanist and had a broad and generous outlook on life.

We pay our tribute to his memory. We cannot say what his association with this Institute meant to it and how sorely we shall miss him.





THE RT. HON'BLE DR. SIR TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU.  
PRESIDENT (1943—'49)







## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

STUDIES IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA, by, Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastrigal. Retired District Session Judge. Published as The *Kirti Mandir Lecture series* No. IX. by the Department of Education. Part I. *The Genius of Vālmīki* pp. 188. Part II. *Riddles of the Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. iv and 276 and vi 1949. Price Rs. 7-8-0.

We should feel grateful to the Baroda Government for the publication of this volume. The author has devoted fifty years to the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and has brought to bear his mature judgment in the discussion of the various problems arising from his studies.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is undoubtedly the most popular work of Sanskrit literature and no other work has exercised a greater influence from the days of its composition down to the present day.

The work is known in four recensions: (1) the Southern (including the Bombay recensions), (2) Bengali, (3) the North-western recension and (4) the Nepali. Of these, three recensions have been published. As the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a book of daily *pārāyaṇa* (recitation) and as such held in supreme reverence, it is not likely that any critical edition attempting to ferret out the original nucleus would command the respect now given to the several recensions.

The author of the studies has established that all the seven *kāṇḍas* (barring a few interpolated *sargas* and *ślokas*) are the composition of Vālmīki and that the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicted a historical account of the civilisation of Rāma's times and of the *Vānaras* of the Deccan



as also of the Rākṣasas. Thus he begins the study with the message of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The book consists of two parts: Part I. deals with the message of Vālmiki. Several chapters are devoted to his ideals of education, individual life, social life, family life, economic and political ideals and spiritual ideals. Thus Vālmiki's portraiture of the Indian civilisation and vision of life are dealt with in all their aspects. Long chapters are devoted to the description of the several characters of the book and to the treatment of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as a master piece of literature and art.

Part II deals with nearly 100 riddles of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. 'The Riddle of the *Rāmāyaṇa*' was originally propounded by C. V. Vaidya in his book under that name. The present book claims to have solved all the riddles to the satisfaction of the modern critical student. Rāma's killing Bāli, making Sītā undergo Agnipraveśa, and exiling Sītā have all been defended with good reasons. Some of the modern scholars and politicians do not appreciate the real greatness of Rāma in these respects and the book under review would give a quietus even to such doubts and critics.

—A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR.

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**BRAHMA VIDYA**—Journal of the Advaita Sabha, Kumbakonam Madras Presidency. Vol. I. No. 1. pp. 4, 16, 10, 16. Quarterly, Annual subscription, Rs. 5.

This quarterly journal has been started mainly for the publication of the unprinted treasures of Sanskrit now lying in the archives of the libraries and awaiting a descriptive catalogue. The book has started with two minor works of Śaṅkara: (1) *Maniṣū Pañcakam* edited with two commentaries; and (2) The commentary



of Śaṅkara on a small work of 25 ślokas entitled *Jñānāṅkuṣam* found in the *Sarasvatī Bhavan* of Banaras.

(1) The *Manīsā Pañcakam* has now been duly admitted by all scholars as a genuine work of Śaṅkara and the only difficulty is to make out the meaning of its appeal to the householders and the Sannyāsins. The commentaries rightly attempt the difficult task. When Lord Viśveśvara argued in the guise of a Cāṇḍāla one might have expected that any ordinary person would answer him from the point of view of an ordinary man of affairs with the answer of the Dharma Śāstras. But Śaṅkara answered Viśveśvara as a practical Sannyāsi who preached and lived the life of a Jīvanmukta as the ideal life of a Sannyāsi Advaitin.

(2) The other work is a commentary by Śaṅkara dealing in a small compass with the main tenet of Advaita. That Śaṅkara wrote many Prakaraṇas and Stotras is undoubted and that many more are attributed to him is also true. But the only test for distinguishing the real works from the ascriptions is mainly subjective viz. the test of style which sometimes appeals to one and eludes another. The publication of the works is welcome.

—A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR.

(A) REPORT ON THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE DEVASTHANAM COLLECTION WITH ILLUSTRATIONS by Sadhu Subramania Sastry, Devasthanam, Archaeologist with 61 photos, maps and charts, pp. 1-366 with an introduction by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri 1930.

(B) INSCRIPTIONS OF TIRUPATI TEMPLE :

Vol. I. EARLY INSCRIPTIONS—Translated and edited with introductions by Sadhu Subramania Sastri, pp. 1-273 with 14 full page facsimiles 1931.



- Vol. II. INSCRIPTIONS OF SAHEWA NARASIMHA'S TIME.  
translated and edited by do. pp. xl. and 380 1933.
- Vol. III. INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA RAYA'S TIME (1509-1531 A.D.) 1935, pp. xxxii and 419 translated and edited by Vijayaraghavacharya Devasthanam Archaeologist 1935.
- Vol. IV. INSCRIPTIONS OF ACHYUTARAYA'S TIME (1530-1542 A.D.) pp. lx and 403 translated and edited by Vijayaraghavacharya 1936.
- Vol. V. INSCRIPTIONS OF SADASIVARAYA'S TIME (1541-1574 A.D.) pp. xlix and 510 translated and edited by Vijayaraghavacharya 1937.
- Vol. VI. Part 1. INSCRIPTIONS OF VENKATAPATIRAYA'S TIME pp. xxxvi and 276 translated and edited by Vijayaraghavacharya 1937.
- Vol. VI. Part 2. EPIGRAPHICAL GLOSSARY pp. 19, 316 and 98 compiled and edited by Vijayaraghavacharya 1938.

These are the seven volumes published by the *Tirupati Devasthanam*. The first narrates the main contents of the inscriptions contained in the six succeeding volumes.

Tirupati perhaps is the richest temple in India and is one of the three famous Vaiṣṇavite shrines in Southern India, the other two being Śrīrangam and Conjeevaram. The idol of Śrīnivāsa situated on the "seven hills" baffles analysis and description and has been claimed by the Vaiṣṇavite, Śaivite and Śākta as their own titular deity. Tirupati has its Māhātmya narrated in 14 Purāṇas and the same with a Hindi translation has been edited by Mm. Anantakrishna Sastry in two volumes. A history of Tirupati from the earliest times has been written in two volumes by the late Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar. Both these have been published by the Devasthanam. These two works together with the above set of volumes on ins-



criptions give the student of history and religion what all he wants to know about Tirupati.

Great credit reflects on the two Devasthānam Epigraphists who have edited the inscriptions and furnished translation in English: Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry writes a foreword in praise of them and states "that at least since the days of the Vijayanagaram rulers the temple has been enjoying a magnificent income. Of all the sacred spots ( श्रीपति ) (forming in Tamil as Tirupati) of Southern India, the hill of Vengadam came very early to be recognised as Tirupati par excellence." The early Ālvārs have sung about the hill and the God thereon. The later Ācāryas from Rāmānuja have made this shrine as one of the main centres for the propagation of their faith. The inscriptions in three languages Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil making a total of over 1,000, furnish a continuous authentic record of the temple and its neighbourhood for the last seven or eight centuries and an account of the buildings endowments and numerous visits to the temple by the Vizayanagaram rulers and especially of the illustrious Krishna Deva Raya. The Devasthānam has earned the gratitude of the public by the production of these sumptuous volumes comparing in all respects with the Government Archaeological Department.

—A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR.

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AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA: By R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri and Kalikinkar Datta. Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London, 1946. pages xii and 1081. with 10 maps Price Rs. 16.

The need of writing a comprehensive history of India has been a problem for the last several years. The progress made by either the *Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti* or the *Indian History Congress* or other similar bodies, which



had planned for preparing history of India in twelve to fifteen volumes, is very discouraging. We were glad to learn in December last at the Delhi Session of the *Indian History Congress* that the various schemes, advanced so far, would now be merged into one. Perhaps, that is the only way to get what we want. The cooperation of all scholars of all the three periods of Indian History would be of much more value and significance, if diverted into a single channel. We hope the cause of Historiography in India would be better served if the scholars could but remember the recent speech at the Annual Meeting of the *History Association* of Great Britain by Sir G. M. Trevelyan on 'Bias in History.' Indian history needs that treatment from unprejudiced pens of scholars, and we would like to recommend strongly to all scholars to sift and collate materials in that way, while writing history. The field of Indian History presents a varied interest of study, conflicting arguments and complicated trends of thought, and their study and interpretation, if done haphazardly and with an unclear conscience, are sure to lead conclusions which in the long run would need such a revision which one could never expect. This is more true in books where a general survey is taken of the events from the earliest times to the present age.

Drs. Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta in their new book *Advanced History of India*, we are glad to note, have taken greater pains to see that the book does not involve such unforeseen influences.

The *Advanced History of India* contains three parts. Part one deals with Ancient India from the pre-historic period till the passing of the old Hindu Kingdoms in the 11th century A.D. It also includes chapters on Gupta Civilization, India's colonial and cultural link, and a surviving from those distant times. Parts 2 and 3 are graphic account of monuments of Ancient India still



divided into two sections each. Part two is devoted to the expansion and disintegration of Turkish Sultans of Delhi and the Great Moghuls, one after another. In a few more chapters, a study of social and economic life, education, literature and art under the two great dynasties is marvellously explained. The third part from the advent of European right up to 1937 gives special emphasis on political relations, developments in internal administration, constitutional changes and economic conditions, religious cultural and social problems, and the dawn of the New India.

There are illustrations, maps, plans of battle fields which are of great help. Genealogical Tables, Bibliography, Chronology of Indian History are given at proper places.

It is creditable that the authors have presented a novel way of writing history books, which may prove to be interesting to a large section. The story of India is told in this book in a way which at once appeals to scholars, to teachers, to students and to the general reader alike. The trends of various forces and movements of our ancient, medieval as well as modern times have been marvellously discussed. One finds great pleasure to go through the book from cover to cover

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BENGALI LITERATURE ; by J. C. Ghosh : Oxford University Press, Calcutta : pp 198; 15 sh.

Of the two regular histories of Bengali Literature that are available to us, the earlier one by Dr. Dinesh Sen is known for its early description of original material while the latter one (in Bengali) by Dr S. Sen is remarkable because of its searching analysis of that material. Not that he had not tried to assess the literary worth of his authors but then Mr. Ghosh's present book, though



short, is a more concentrated attempt at a critical examination of the numerous Bengali works that constitute our literary heritage. Of course, Mr. Ghosh's approach is from the Western standpoint with the consequence that some of his assessments of some of our poets and dramatists often appear a bit too rigid and hard. Nevertheless, an inquiry into the literary worth of our books was more than overdue and while doing this the learned author has done well not to have involved himself in the problems of the texts and their authorships focussing our entire attention firstly, on the sociological background against which the Bengali Literature grew and then, almost simultaneously, on the development of the various forms of literature which have now come to stay with us.

Of the first mentioned tendency, the division of the last thousand years of our literary history into (i) the Gour Period, (ii) the Nadia Period and (iii) the Calcutta Period is in itself suggestive, since Mr. Ghosh has been able to show in the introduction that with the change of our seat of culture from Gaur to Nadiya and thence to Calcutta Bengali literature had also undergone a process of transformation characterised by many a significant feature. That our literature had developed in the wake of the country's economic prosperity becomes abundantly clear—and, to continue Mr. Ghosh's tenor of argument, if Bengali literature to day is not breaking new ground, one may guess, it is because of our sense of economic insecurity.

Against such a background, our change of emphasis from the religious literature of the 15th. century to the secular literature of to-day becomes significant indeed as we know the stress that had compelled us to do it. If 'Mañadhara's *Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Vijaya* is inspired throughout by ardent religious feeling' (p. 37), Mukundarama had already started to be more democratic (p. 73) and Bhattachandrā had found that life was more worth living



by itself than for anything else. What Mr. Ghosh constantly reminds us however, and it is well that he does it, is that it is not always fair to judge the literature of a period by the standards of another : a misunderstanding that had induced many a critic to hold false views about the literary worth of Bharatachandra or Íśwara Gupta, for example. Centurywise the jungle of stories introduced in the Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata* or "the essential unreality of a romantic-spiritual arcadia in the Pads" (p. 57) or even the grotesqueness of some of the Caṇḍī fables (p. 68) : all these are typical of the periods to which they belong and reveal, leaving aside the authors' weaknesses, the age. It is from this angle that (as Mr. Ghosh wants us to believe) the Vidyāpati poems may not be "pseudoromantic, meretricious and pretty-pretty" and Mukundarām's Caṇḍīmangal not merely "mystical supernatural stuff."

Besides these Mr. Ghosh's estimate of the literary competence of most of our pad-kartas and poets is very refreshing : more so when he comes nearer our times and can rely safely on Western aesthetics. But unfortunately to the interpretation of the 19th. century he has brought no new approach ever emphasizing the rather too well known truth that the Bengali literature then was the product of the growing middle-class. But beyond this Mr. Ghosh seems to be inaccurate when he says that it was inspired merely by the reading of the 'railway book-stall literature' particularly when there is evidence to show that the Bengali authors had read the best of English poets, novelists and philosophers. It is a different matter altogether if the Bengalis had not been able to engraft western methods in their own literature; in fact one would like that the Bengalis Bengali-ised whatever they read. Such a point Mr. Ghosh can ill-afford to forget when for example, he writes so trenchantly about Bankim or about



Tagore. It is true that many a novel of Bankim's is loaded with the "dead mass of mystical, didactic verbiage" but then to condemn his art of the novel on the score that he was merely a mediocre thinker and to charge him with anti-Muslim prejudice are, I think, going too far. It is equally unfair to say that Madhusudan was not a great poet but merely the maker of a great tradition which incidentally Mr. Ghosh has failed to note when he has come to scrutinise the voluminous works of Tagore.

If he had done so he would not have been lured to tread so unwittingly in the footsteps of Dr. Thompson in his estimate of the Poet's worth. The tradition of Bengal is not merely the tradition of English literature and the basis of judgement is not merely western. Tagore himself had emphasised this so frequently that a conscientious critic cannot afford to be ignorant of it—leading ultimately to such rash statements: "Tagore's other verse-plays are very carelessly written, often to the point of lacking rudimentary dramatic sense or even common sense." (p. 176) In fact, this betrays Mr. Ghosh's total ignorance of the Sanskrit dramatic tradition and a good knowledge of the bibliographical material now available in the *Rachanavali* which shows how painstaking an artist Tagore was. Furthermore, Mr. Ghosh is ill-informed when he says that Tagore wrote only about a dozen plays while in fact, there are at least a dozen *more* of nature-plays and dance dramas which reveal that Tagore's work was not always a hybrid of foreign and native elements. His last poems too—I mean the poems written after his Russian visit—display this attitude where the imaginative effusion of a lyric poet has been more than restrained by the thought of the west. Tagore's emphasis however, was on the Eastern hierarchy of values and it is a pity that Mr. Ghosh has not mentioned the last poems and the



bunch of short stories which display how typical an Indian Tagore finally was.

Another important point now remains to be mentioned. I have found line after line in Mr. Ghosh's book which seems to have been translated from Dr. S. Sen's *Bangla Sahityer Katha* without even the necessary acknowledgement. For instance, there are very clear verbal similarities between pages 35, 43, 63, 77 and 85 of Mr. Ghosh's book and pages 90, 16, 48, 81, 131 respectively of the second edition of Dr. Sen's volume. Furthermore, Mr. Ghosh has quoted Yeats's statement that Tagore was the product of a supreme culture (p. 174) without acknowledging his source.

In spite of these shortcomings and a slightly misleading title, *Bengali Literature* is a very well written book containing passages of penetrating critical insight. To the non-Bengali especially, the volume will surely be a very delightful reading

—A. MUKERJI.

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